Richard Pearis/Parris

1769. The Warriors and Headmen of the Lower Cherokee Indian Nation conveyed to Richard Pearis and his son by an Indian wife, George, a tract 12 miles square on waters of Saluda, Enoree, and Ready Rivers. The tract was surveyed and laid out in the presence of 14 Chiefs and 70 other Indians by William Gist, Deputy Surveyor, and contained 92,160 acres. Richard and George Pearis conveyed 30,720 acres to Jacob Hite. Richard and George Pearis conveyed 11,000 acres to Col. John Neville. Jacob Hite bought this tract. Jacob Hite and Richard Pearis purchased from the Indians 57,840 acres adjoining the tract 12 miles square. Colonel Richard Pearis was an Indian Trader appointed by Governor Dinwiddie to take charge of all the Southern Nations of Indians until Mr. Atkins was appointed to Superintendent. At that time, he was removed into the Maryland and Pennsylvania service. Much of the data about Richard Pearis comes from his claim as a Loyalist. He was a prisoner in Charleston for 9 months and went by foot to West Florida. In 1783, he lived on St. John's River in Florida. He emigrated to the Island of Abico/Abaco in the Bahamas and there had a large Indian Store, slaves, and English blooded horses. He was in debt to Gen. Nathaniel Guest, Wade Hampton, Jacob Hoyt/Hite/Hiot, and others. He was a native of Ireland and came to America when he was 20 years of age. He had 2 sons in service: one in the Cherokee Nation and one an Ensign in Col. Brown's Regiment. He had a natural son by a Cherokee Indian "who lived with them" and procured a tract of 150,000 acres which was to be sold to Richard, but 10,000 acres was reserved to his son who was naturalized. Richard sold 30,000 acres to Jacob Hiot and reserved above 20,000 acres about 1768, at which time he moved into S.C. or to this property. 21 Dec. 1773, deed by Uconnastotah (in Cherokee: Ogana-stota; Groundhog Sausage), Willinwawaugh, Ewe, Principal Chiefs of the Cherokees to George Pearis. He has since been naturalized. 27 Apr. 1774, deed from George Pearis, natural son of Richard Pearis conveying 150,000 acres described as "The Great Plains." Richard Pearis also had a daughter, Margaret Pearis, who married William Jones, Esq. (as his second wife), Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty, who died 20 May 1799. Jones' first wife was Henrietta Bourquin (daughter of Henri Francois Bourquin) and widow of Henry Lewis Bourquin (son of Jean Baptiste (John) Bourquin). Margaret Pearis Jones had a nephew, Richard Cunningham of Charleston. The Pearis and Cunningham families returned from Nassau to Camden Co., Ga., after the Revolution.

Richard Parris' daughter, Susan, was engaged to a son of Col. Height.

E78 S6 S68

South Carolina Indians Indian Traders

and

Other Ethnic Connections

Beginning in 1670

Edited by

Theresa M. Hicks

from the papers of

Theresa M. Hicks and Wes Taukchiray

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send off slaves from N.C. Hastins acknowledges that he did. He is ordered to pay the Coosata King 1,120 skins for the 7 slaves.

Richard Hacher/Hatcher
Trader. 27 July 1711. 14 Mar. 1712 NS. Disclaims his rum debts.

John Hatton
Trader 1750.

Rachel Hatton
Half-breed Cherokee of Keohwee flourishing 1760.

William Hatton
Charles Town Indian Trader. Will 1734. Has Copy Hold estate lying at Cowley nigh Oxford. Children: John and Sophia.

Thomas Hawkins
A White man amongst the Indians—among the Cherokee in 1760—called "the Indian's Secretary of State."

John Herbert
Commissoner. 1719. He drew a map of the Cherokee Indian Country in 1720. George Hunter revised this map about 10 years later.

Robert Hicks
Virginia Trader in South Carolina with Catawbas. His goods were seized.

Samuel Hilden
Trader. 27 July 1711. 1 Aug. 1711. Probably among the Yamassee Indians. 13 Sep. 1711. Had sold rum to Indians. 14 Mar. 1712 NS. Disclaims his rum debts. 15 Mar. 1712 NS. 8 other traders petition against him. 17 Apr. 1712. Has been buying slaves of the Indians before they bring them to their towns and extorted a slave of the Indian Wenoya. 18 Apr. 1712. He must forfeit his license. 14 May 1712. States he did not know that it was wrong to buy slaves from Indians out of their towns. 15 May. He is ordered not to leave town. 16 May 1712. Before the Board. 25 Sep. 1713. He and Macarty beat and stripped 2 Yamasee men. 20 May 1714. Sheppy Allen made his debts over to Hilden. 9 June 1714. The Board wrote Hilden that the Pocotaligo King complains of his insistence that the said King owes Hilden and of his threats to take a slave.

Charles Hill
Commissioner. Will of John Abraham Motte. Berkeley Co., merchant. Wife: Sarah Mary. Son: Jacob. Daus: Sarah Katherine and Ann. Exors: brother-in-law Charles Hill, now of Jamaica, merchant; Col. George Logan; James Kinloch, Berkeley Co., merchant. Wit: Thos. Hasell, Henry Wigington, Stephen Sarrizon, Joseph Hanlinks. 24 Aug. 1710.
See *Carolina Connections*, Hicks.

John Hilliard
Trader. 14 Mar. 1712 NS. Disclaims his rum debts.

Jacob Hite/Height
Trader. Killed by Tories. His wife and 3 children carried away. Children: George, a Revolutionary Soldier; John (will in Berkeley Co., Va. 1776) who had a son, Jacob Obanion Hite; Thomas (d. by 1784) who had children James and Francis Hite; Mary Manning, widow; Elizabeth wife of Col. Taverner Beale. Jacob Hite had purchased lands in South Carolina from the Indians and Richard and George Pearis [Parris].

John Hogg/Hog
Trader. 27 July 1711. 14 Mar. 1712 NS. Disclaims his rum debts. 17 Apr. 1712. 14 May 1712. Testifies against Hilden.

Holford
Trader. 22 1711 NS.

John Hook
Trader 1750.

Roger Hoskins/Hoskin
Trader. 5 Sep. 1709. 20 May 1714. Knows that Mr. Probert sends his slaves to war. 19 Nov. 1714. Was drunk and guilty of committing great indecencies against the Agent. He acknowledged it and begged pardon, promised to do better. 24 Nov. 1714. Bond for license.

Capt. Job Howe
Committee of the House to settle the Indian Trade. 1698.

Bernard Hughes
Trader ca. 1750.

the cheapest post
for most
P1 time
but the we want
some of it.
P2 last line ~~for~~ by

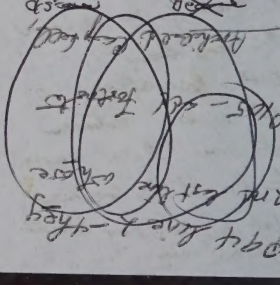
P3 line 3 seems have
~~for~~ afterwards
last line Jack he

P4 line England
~~the~~ cease
line 7 . — This was

---

last P. To find out
when people erected in
a particular place, we
usually looks first at
local records.
Coroners ~~the~~ but records
(such as Just . . .
them)

~~the~~ potatoes, bird does not
show up in dead records
while it is sold by the
potatoes, which might be
many years later
Use 9 — ~~the~~
to use that method to
these



In forewords mention –

(1) All spellings original – to preserve authenticity / also as a key to how people spoke. (accents etc) These spellings & expressions were –

Very similar to Vic in Satisfie
Shan me – viz
taxed for accused,
dore for do, doe forge
is gone, was for was
had no regilt for
~~[illegible]~~
it was not just,

You can almost hear Richard accent as he writes Verry for very, believe, fill for fully, commons for common, soer of mistery, is for as, an for was. A more jester meaner than has been & wrote for written & what instead thereon between Richard & the Mor of this Carriage & Yet he was very literate for his day.

**Seedtime on the Cumberland, Harriette Simpson Arnow (1960)
pages 302 & 184-5

P 2-line 10 -
for * read **

① *William Aiston & the Alleghany Patriots PG Johnson P 31 note 6 quoting Minutes of Cherokee Council at Williamsburg 1756 Sept 1765

② **South Carolina Indian Traders Ed Theora M Hilty p. 120

probably Charles but did

still more information to surface, and will be incorporated into this next version

Richard's wife, Rhoda Hatton, was the half Cherokee daughter of much respected

Scott County official William Hatton a head porter in his service of the Cherokee tribe, who died when Rhoda was a young child. This raises still

We need a little more about the Period, to add a few more details about

and a bit about Rhoda and her father's early years in the Indian trade. The UT State Historical Society (I sends) does not have the whole set of the books I need. Perhaps the set are in Salt Lake City but it will be best a year before I can go There. I'm getting elderly and this cannot go on so I'll start there write and insert a supplement later.

There is presently a gap in my knowledge of his later years because

William McTeer
Among the Cherokee—flourishing 1760.

Nancy
Cherokee—flourishing 1760.

Thomas Nairne
South Carolina's first Indian Agent/Commissioner. Served 1707-1709; 1712-1715. Killed in Yamassee War. His Journals covering the 1708 expedition to the Mississippi River have been published.

John Nel(l)son
Trader with the Choctaw in the 1750's.

William Newbury
Trader in the Chickasaw Nation.

Alexander Nicholas
Trader. 27 July 1711. 14 Mar. 1712 NS. Disclaims his rum debts. 25 Oct. 1712. Detailed allegations that he has been beating and sometimes beating to death Yamasee Indian women and children.

Nicholehe
Cherokee—flourishing 1760.

Charles Nicols
Trader. 24 Nov. 1714.

Edward Nichols/Nicols
Trader. 27 July 1711. 14 Mar. 1712 NS. Disclaims rum debts.

Thomas Nightingale
Trader with the Catawbas. 1755.

Ocayoulah
Cherokee—flourishing 1760.

Oconoeca
Cherokee—flourishing 1760.

Old Caesar
Cherokee—flourishing 1760.

Old Hop/Hopp
Emperor of the Cherokees. Of Chote—reported dead 16 Feb. 1760.

The Old Warrior of Estatoe
Cherokee. Also called Eccuwee of Estatowee or the Old Warrior of Estatowih.

Omau-U-Toeta
Cherokee—flourishing 1760.

Osceola
Seminole Indian. Buried Sullivan's Island, S.C. D. 1838.

Ouconnostotah/Oconostata
The Great Warrior of Chote. Overhill Cherokee Indian Chief. He was inducted into the St. Andrew's Society in 1773. [*East Tennessee Historical Society Publications* Vol. 44]

Otassite/Otassitih
Cherokee of Watago—flourishing 1760.

Oucah
Cherokee—flourishing 1760.

Ousanatah
Cherokee—flourishing 1760.

Ousanolitah
Cherokee of Cowetche—flourishing 1760.

Paleathuckles
Indians who lived southward of the Yamassees ca. 1708.

Panchio
Appalachee Indian. 1713.

Anthony Park(s)
Trader flourishing 1758. Newberry County area. His 1/2 brother, Col. Thomas Dugan. [O'Neall's *Annals of Newberrry*]

Partridge
Cherokee Indian. 1714.

Lewis Pasquereau
Commissioner in 1707. 1700 will of Robert Weatherick, late of New England, now of Sommerton, Berkeley Co., mentions Lewis Pasquereau.

James Patteson/Paterson/Pattison
Trader. 27 July 1711. 14 Mar. 1712 NS. Disclaims rum debts. 16

May 1712. 26 Mar. 1713. Bond for license. 24 Nov. 1713. His affidavit states Maccarty did not beat the 2 Yamasee men.

Peg
Half-breed Cherokee—flourishing 1760.

Abrahm Peirce/Pearce
Trader 5 Sep. 1709. 31 Aug. 1714. Col. Parris claims debt from Pearce and Gower. [Note: One source states that *Poythress, Poyers, Pyers* are forms of spelling the modern *Pierce, Peirce, Pearce.*]

Charles Pierce
Trader. 24 Nov. 1714.

William Pettypoole
Trader of Virginia. 22 Mar. 1711 NS.

Andrew Percival
1679. Have sent some "Indian trade" for the purpose of purchasing from the Indians, of Edistoh or Colleton River.

William Pinckney
Commissioner for Indian affairs, 1751.

John Pight
Trader. 21 Sep. 1710. He is to free Wansella, a Yamasee of Ilcombe. 22 Mar. 1711 NS. 21 Sep. 1710. Holding the Indian woman Coloose as a slave. 12 June 1712. He was owed a debt by the headman of the Cussetau Town. 14 July 1713. Complains that Capt. Musgrove took a slave which Pight had bought from Oboyclackoe. 19 Aug. 1713. Col. Parris to be certain that John Pight pays his license money before Pight leaves the province. 18 June 1714. Pight to be prosecuted for his scandalous reflections on the Board. 19 Nov. 1714. The 5 Commissioners of Indian Affairs ready to answer the charges in Pight's letter. They take the answer to the House of Commons. The House of Commons continues to consider this through 4 Dec. 1714. Will of John Pight, Gent. Wife: Mary. Dau: Mary. Aunt: Elizabeth Bayly. Cousin John Bayly, 2 tracts of land at Cape Fear, 12 miles above the old town called Red Bluff and Rocky Point. Exors: wife; cousin John Bayly. Wit: Jno. Herbert, Wilson Saunders, Catherine Snelle. Dated 20 June 1726. Mary Pight witnessed will of James Moore, St. James Parish, Goose Creek. 1 Mar. 1723/4.

Pocotaligo
Indian town.

Colonial Records of SOUTH CAROLINA

Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, Ed. W. L. McDowell
South Carolina Archives Dept., Columbia (1955-8)

Excerpts of Correspondence regarding Hattons and Pearises

140 Mon 17 Dec 1716, Board meeting. Present: Ralph Izard, Esq., Col. John Barnwell and Charles Hill, Esq.
William Hatton being recommended to this Board by the Assembley to be an Assistant Factor at the Cherokees, and he wanting a Horse, they ordered that a bay Horse marked on the off-Buttock P. as also on the off Shoulder B and now in the Custody of Ralph Izard, Esq., (for which no Owner hath as yet appeared, though publick Notice was given, and for that Reason) adjudged to be of the Number of those to be paid for by the Publick; to be appointed and delivered to the said Hatton, upon his giving a note to be accountable for the same. The said Order of the Assembly was performed accordingly, as per Appraisment and note in Bundle g.

Agreed with William Hatton, for being Assistant to Col. Theophilus Hastings, Factor appointed at the Cherikees, upon the Terms and Conditions agreed and allowed to other such Assistants; as perFol.89.
William Hatton, Assistant as aforesaid, accordingly qualified himself by entering into Bond, as pr Book of Bonds f.
Delivered to said William Hatton, Instructions of Tenor and Form as mentioned in Folio 90 and 91, and given to each other Assistants.
.....
15 Dec 1716.....Ordered that William Hatton, Assistant Factor, do with all Expedition address himself for the Cherikees. to Col. Theophilus Hastings, Principal Factor there, to receive further Instructions concerning his Proceedings in the trade.....
Ordered that Jury Barker, Assistant Factor, do proceed to the Cherikees with two other Assistants, viz ., Hatton and Thompson, there to follow such other instructions as the Principal Factor shall give them, pursuant to instructions of the board.

Letter to Col. Hastings 21 Dec 1716.....This comes by Mr. Thompson and Jury Baker, the Latter we have engaged in our Service on your Recommendation; you may likewise expect Mr. William Hatton who accompanies Mr. Wiggan up as far as the Cherikees, where he is to act and remain under your Directions, and seeing you now have the five Assistant Factors (good Men as we believe) .....

151 Board Meeting Fri 25 Jan 1716/7....William Hatton, Assistant Factor for the Cherikees, appearing, informed the Bpard. "That he is returned from Wantoot with the Horse, which was lent to him for his Use with the Cherikees, not being able to proceed thither by reason of the badness of the Horse and the Dissapointment of a Guide, by Wiggan's being detained, whom he was appointed to accompany to the Cherikees, and prayed to be discharged of the said Horse, he being unserviceable."
Ordered, that upon William Hatton's delivering up of said Horse to this Board, his Receipt or Note for the same be returned to him; or that, in Case the said Hatton thinks fitting, he have Liberty to provide himself with another Horse, in lieu thereof.....

157 Charles Town 20 Jan 1716/7 letter to Col. Theophilus Hastings,
We hope this may find you safe arrived at the Cherikees, as likewise your two assistants, Mr. Dauge and Mr. Barker. This we intend by Mr. Sharp, and as to the other two, Mr. Hatton whom we had engaged and sent part of the way and now seems to decline the Charge, and for Mr. Thompson, we are under the present Necessity of imploying him in the Periaugoe to the Savano Town....

But it seems William Hatton reconsidered, for--

158 Sat. 02 Feb 1716/7...On motion, ordered that Copy of the Invoice and letter sent to Col. Hastings, Factor at the Cherikees, by Cherite Hagey, on Thursday be drawn out and delivered to John Sharp or William Hatton, Assistant Factors, in order to be sent by them, to the said Hastings. Ordered, that John Sharp and William Hatton, Assistant Factors, do forthwith proceed with the above said invoice and letter to Col. Theopholis Hastings, Factor at the Cherikees, and there apply themselves to him for further instructions.

166 Weds 27 Feb 1716/7 (A George Hill applied for and received a position as asst. to Col Hastings.)...Resolved, that George Hill, Assistant Factor for the Cherikees, be dispatched to Col. Hastings (by way of Savano Town) (Savannah?) and that the horse which was formerly ordered and delivered William Hatton and returned by him, be delivered to the said Hill for his Journey, on the Condition he do underwrite the note of the said Hatton in the hands of the Clerk, to be accountable for the horse, on the terms therein mentioned....Ordered that Mr. Nicholas Stevens do deliver unto George Hill, Assistant Factor for the Cherikees, the horse returned by William Hatton....Letter to Hastings same day...This comes by Mr. George Hill, whom we sent up to you as assistant factor. We hope that Mr. Sharp and Hatton are arrived with you, also several burdeners dispatched hence...

On Weds 06 Mar 1716/7 a message was received from the Deputy Governer by Col. (Alexander?) Parris. (He is mentioned frequently in these records, but recorded here only by the coincidence mentioned in Chapter 3 of our book--wherein some descendants of many-great Uncle George Pearis presumed that prominent Huguenot was their ancestor--which, of course, he was NOT.) Some of his riches were acquired in the Indian trade, however. News arrived slowly from across the mountains. On March 11 they received Col. Hastings' letter of 06 Feb, and wrote back say by this time all yourAssistants have arrived in the Cherikees, viz; John Sharp, James Dauge, William Hatton, Jury Barker, and George Hill...."

178 09 May 17 7....(All is not well. Corpses have been found. Slaves of the Catawbas have run away, two of them being Wateree women. Trader? Ebenezer Wiggan received advice in a letter from Capt. Hatton of the Cherikees that they were preparting to carry on the war with the Creeks, who had illed four men and carried away a woman, many mor details....

183 Thurs 23 May 1717 Two letters received, one from Col Hastings, the other from William Hatton, Assistant Factor dated the 3rd, with an account of the death of Jury Barker, one of the Assistants.

188 Mon. 17 June 1717.....Col. Theophilus Hastings ..now desires permission of the Board to be absent from the Factory; and recommended Mr. William Hatton, one of his Assistants (to whom he has committed the key of the Trading House and his several Powers and orders of from this board, to act in his station at Tougeloe Town (during his absence to sign a Peace Treaty with the Creeks)...upon motion, that Mr. William Hatton be appointed to officiate at the Cherikee Factory in the Room of and Stead of Col. Theophilus Hastings, Principal Factor for the Indian Trade during his absence.../Received of Col. Hastings, a Bundle of Writings and Papers, containing several Powers, Orders and Instructions sent him at several times from this Board. relating to the Trade with the Cherikees....Ordered that the aforesaid Writings and Papers be transmitted to Mr. William Hatton for his better direction how to proceed in the Indian Trade, etc...(omitted here are interesting details about the trade well worth reading.)

190 Ordered that the thirty-one Indian Burdeners do proceed with the aforesaid Goods &c to the Cherikee Factory (by way of Mr. St. Julien's) to Capt. Hatton, Chief Assistant Factor, and that some Loads of Powder and Shot be given to each Man of them (who carrys a Gun) for their Defense and the Security of the Publick's Goods and Ammunition... (John Chester appointed to fill vacant slot)..Wrote and delivered to John Chester, a Letter to Capt. William Hatton, together with sundry Papers (as mentioned above)...Ordered that John Chester, Assistant Factor, do proceed to the Cherikees with all Expedition, and there apply himself to Capt. Wm. Hatton with the above said Letter, to receive of him further Directions in relation to his carrying on the Trade there, with the Indians.

194 (June or July? 1717)...Likewise unto Capt. William Hatton, or Order, the Sum of twenty-five Pounds, current Money, being for three Months' salary, which became due to him the seventeenth Day of June past, for Service in the Cherikees, as Assistant Factor there...

214 Letters received from various factors residing in the Cherikees incl. William Hatton's three letters of 28 July & 2 & 4 Sept, etc...John Chester would not proceed with his employment.
Friday 04 Oct 1717. Four Indian Burdeners arrived with goods-- others to be sent up to the factory. They are also to carry a very long and detailed list of instructions to Capt. William Hatton, Chief Assistant Factor, quite a few pages long, but sounds routine.
223 Sat. 02 Nov 1717 . Sent by John Sharp, Asst. Factor, a letter to William Hatton, Chief Asst. Factor "We received yours dated the 27th of Sept. last past per Mr. Sharp, of whom we also received the ill news of 770 Skins being taken from him by Enemy, which will no doubt discourage the Charikees from bringing down the noble Parcel of skins you mention so soon as expected.....many instructions... you are not to be concerned therewith except in Case of Mortality or Mis-application, but for in all other Matters and former T ings you to act still as Chief.... Ordered that John Sharp do proceed to the Charikees, etc.
231 Sat 23 Now 1717

Capt. Wm. Hatton, Chief Assistant Factor for the Charikee Trade, appearing, informed, that he came down from the Charikees, with three Slaves and a Parcel Skins, on Account of the Trade; having left the same with the Burdeners, at Mr. St. Julien's and Mr. Ravenel's Plantation, until further Order should be sent them. He further informed that he had taken up in the Path from the Charikees, near a Place called Saludee, about one hundred and fifty Skins, which he supposed did belong to that Parcel which was intercepted and taken away from Mr. Sharp in October last. He also reported that when he left the Charikees, there was no Virginia Traders arrived among the Indians, but that they were daily expected; that if Charitey Hagey of Tougeloe had not used great Diligence, he could not have procured Burdeners to bring down the Skins, before the next Spring; the Indians being informed that the Paths were way-laid by the Creek Indians; but by Means of the said Charitey Hagey (who came as far as Saludee, with a Company of |219| Warriers to guard them) they were prevailed with, to come down now.

Received of Capt. William Hatton sundry Papers, viz.; his Journal of Occurrences, from the 3d September to the 31st October, 1717, as per Bundle *i* (No. 9). George Hill, Assistant Factor in the Charikees, his Account Returns, for Cowee and Quanasee Towns, as per Bundle *k* (No. 10). The said Hatton's Account of Tougeloe Trade, from the 16th July to the 22d October, 1717, as per Bundle *k* (No. 10); also his Account of Choty* Trade, from the 1st August to the 11th October, 1717, as per Bundle *k* (No. 10); James Dauge, Assistant Factor, for Tunesee and Terrequa Towns, his Accounts of Trade, from the 15th August to the 12th October, 1717, as per Bundle *k* (No. 10).

The aforesaid Hatton informed that he had received some Letters and other Papers at the Charikees, directed to this Board, which relate to the Indians; and were laid before the Honourable House of Commons.

Ordered, that Capt. William Hatton, do speedily return to Mr. St. Julien's and Ravenel's Plantations, and use his Endeavours with the Charikee Indian Burdeners, to continue there with their Packs, until a Periaugoe and Goods can be provided and sent up, as well to deal with them for such Skins as they have brought on their own Accounts, to barter for Goods, as to load them back with, on Account of the Trade, and to bring down the Skins and Effects, by Water.

Adjourned to Munday next.

* Chota

232 Weds 27 Nov 1717..Received into the Store, of Capt. William Hatton, Factor for the Charikee Trade, per 160 Indian Burdeners (who would not remain at St. Julien's Plantation as was directed the 23rd Inst_ 160 packs of Skins and three Indian Slaves. Ordered, that the Charikee Burdeners this Day arrived, be paid out of the Store, two yards of blew Duffields to each Man, for their Labour and Travel to Charles Town and home again., also that two Yards Duffields be paid to the Indian Cesar, for his Service in taking care of the Slaves. Also that a Sufficient Quantity of corn be purchased by Thomas Barton and delivered daily to the Charikee Indians for their Sustenance while in Charles Town....

233 Thurs 28 Nov 1717...Ordered, that Capt. William Hatton, Factor among the Charikees, do immediately wait on the Governor and Council and introduce the Chief Men of the Charikees, in Charles Town, to make known to their Honors, such Matters as they have to Declare to them. Ordered, that Thomas Barton do pay Mr. Mullins the sum of two pounds for the hire of his Horse for Capt. William Hatton, to give directions to the Charikee Burdeners at St. Julien's. to remain there....

234 Fri 29 Nov 1717

Upon Motion, that Capt. William Hatton be rewarded for his Diligence and Fidelity in the Publick Service, in officiating at the Charikee Factory, as Chief among the Assistant Factors, in the Absence of Col. Hastings, Principal Factor; according to the Promise of the Board, to the said Hatton, made;

Resolved, that the said William Hatton be allowed the Sum of seventy-five Pounds, current Money, over and above his present Salary; on condition, that he shall continue in his present Trust from this Board, until the 17th Day of December next.

Ordered, that Ralph Izard, Esq., Cashier for the Indian Trade, do pay unto Capt. William Hatton, or Order, the abovesaid Sum of seventy-five Pounds, accordingly. Also, the Sum of twenty-five Pounds, current Money, for one Quarter's Salary, which will be due to him, the 17th December next.

Resolved, that Capt. William Hatton be, and he is hereby nominated and appointed Principal Factor for the Charikee Trade, in the Room of Col. Theophs. Hastings, late Principal Factor there; and that his Salary for the same, be at the Rate |223| of two hundred and fifty Pounds, current Money, per Annum, and his Allowance for Provision, at the Rate of ten Pounds per Annum, to be paid in Goods, in the Charikees, at the prime Cost in Charles Town, and the said Salary and Allowance to commence the 17th Day of December insuing, to be paid quarterly.

Resolved, that Mr. John Sharp be, and he is hereby nominated and appointed Chief Assistant Factor in the Charikee Trade, under Capt. William Hatton, Principal Factor; and in case of the said Principal Factor's Death or Absence, then that he do act as Principal Factor, until further Order.

Resolved, that from the 11th Instant, the Allowance of James Dauge, Assistant Factor in the Charikees, for his Provision and Diet &c., to be taken out of the Goods in the Charikees, at their prime Cost in Charles Town (by Reason of the great Charge he is at, in tending two Store-Houses) be advanced to the Sum of ten Pounds, per Annum.

Resolved, that the present Method and Form of Management of the Indian Trade, in the Charikee Nation, is the most practicable, and regular, and approved of by this Board.

235 Sat 30 NOv 1717...

The Clerk rendered an Account of the Sale of three Indian Slave Boys at Vendieu, this Day, amounting to one hundred and thirty-one Pounds, fifteen Shillings, as per Bundle *h* (No. 8).

Ordered, that Thomas Barton, do deliver unto the Head Men of the Charikees, now in Charles Town, two Gallons Rum, as an Encouragement for their taking care of the Goods, to be sent with them.

Ordered, that Ralph Izard, Esq., Cashier for the Indian Trade, do pay unto Mr. Peter de St. Julien, or Order, the Sum of sixty-seven Pounds, ten Shillings, for ten Guns bought and received of him &c.

Also unto Capt. William Hatton, or Order, the Sum of two Pounds, current Money; on Account of James Dauge; it being for two Coats made by him in the Charikees; for which he received eight Skins, and sent the same down, among other Effects, to this Board; as appears per his Letter of the 24th October last. Also unto the said Hatton, or Order, the Sum of ten Pounds, current Money, on Account of James Dauge, Assistant Factor in the Charikees' Salary, according to the Request and Order of the said Dauge.

Capt. William Hatton, Factor for the Charikee Trade, moved that the Friendship and Service of Charitey Hagey, and some of the Head Men of the Charikees, to the Government, might be considered, by the Board; they having signified to him their Expectation of being gratified;

one hundred seventy-nine Pounds, sixteen Shillings and three Pence ½d, as per Invoice Book, Page 25.

Agreed with Nathaniel Parrot, for his Service, as Assistant Factor in the Charikees, on the Terms, Conditions and Restrictions as heretofore was granted and appointed for such Assistant Factors as per Page 89.

Adjourned to Munday next.

Monday, December 2, 1717

|225| The Board met according to Adjournment.

PRESENT: Col. Jno. Barnwell, Capt. Jona. Drake, and Col. Jno. Fenwicke.

Resolved and ordered, that a Present of Liquor and a Gun be sent by Capt. Hatton and delivered to Charitey Hagey of Tougeloe in the Charikees, in Consideration of his Services and Assistance to the Factors in managing the Trade for the Benefit of the Publick. Likewise, that a small Present be provided for some of the Head Men of the Charikees now in Charles Town, to gratifie them for their Trouble in procuring Burdeners and coming down as a Guard with them.

The Head Men of the Charikees (lately arrived) appearing, with Capt. William Hatton, Factor, were asked the following Questions; (by Indian John, Linguister chosen for that Purpose), viz., "for what Reason the Quanase' "and Terrequa People were become of late, so inofficious to the white Men "which dwell among them, refusing to supply them with Provision or Neces- "saries, or building, or repairing the Trading Houses; and that the Quanasee "and Tunese' People did not assist the Rest in bringing down the Skins; like- "wise that the Burdeners steal and pilfer the Goods sent by them, which "Things were contrary to the Articles of Peace made with them, and their "repeated Promises in that Behalf, and if they persist in their unjust Doings, "and refuse to make the Government any Restitution, and slight and contemn "the white Men and refuse giving their Assistance in the Management of the "Trade; the Government would be obliged to recall those Factors which were "abroad and decline trading or furnishing the Indians any more with Goods "or Ammunition, the Consequence whereof would render them poor and "miserable, and as soon as they had consumed the Powder they already have, "they would be made a Prey of by their Enemies." They were further informed that if they had any Matter of Complaint to make or "found any "Grievance by any of the English People, they should be heard and redressed, "and no Wrong done unto them; that Capt. William Hatton was appointed "to be Chief Factor to reside amongst them, and to prevent any Injustice to "be done, and to hear [their] Differences and determine the same, and to "remit an Account of all his Transactions to this Board, which acted for, and "was to render such Account to the whole Country, to whom the Trade be- "longed; and that the white Men which |226| were amongst them traded for "the Publick only, and that whatsoever is done or befals them or the Goods, "concerned the whole Province; and that the said Traders were limitted to "sell according to the Agreement mutually made (between Col. Moore and "Charitey Hagey) and could not answer to do any Thing contrary to the

"Orders which are issued to them from this Board, whose Care and Duty 'tis "to direct all Things for the Benefit, Ease and Friendship of both English "and Indians;" to which the said Head Men replied that "they would forbid "the Burdeners from imbezilling the Goods, and hoped the white Men should "be better treated and have no further Cause to complain of their People's "Behaviour; and as for the Tunese' and Quanase' People, they said they were "gone out to War, which was the Reason they did not assist in bringing down "the Skins with the last Gang of Burdeners; but as soon as they come home, "they intend (with the Rest) to bring the Skins down; but they desired that "the Promise formerly made them of having four white Men more settled "in their Towns, for the better supplying them with Goods, might be performed."

Then the Board (according to Resolution) delivered to ten Charikee Head Men a Present of ten striped Blankets, two Shirts and six Dozen Pipes; informing them that the said Present was given them as a Reward for their particular Services, and to incourage them to assist the white Men.

This Day loaded and sent away one hundred and thirty-five Charikees, with Goods out of the Store.

Adjourned to tomorrow Morning.

Tuesday, December 3, 1717

The Board met according to Adjournment.

PRESENT: Ralph Izard, Esq., Col. Jno. Barnwell, Capt. Jona. Drake, and Col. Jno. Fenwicke.

Ordered that Ralph Izard, Esq., Cashier for the Indian Trade, do pay unto Mr. Robert Haynes or Order, the Sum of fifteen Pounds, currant Money, in Part of the Sum due to John Ryles, Assistant to Meredith Hughes, Factor for Wineau, for his Wages in the Publick Service, according to the Desire of the said Ryles in that Behalf.

Capt. William Hatton, Principal Factor for the Charikees, informed that Charitey Hagey of Tougeloe had complained to him that five of the Men which carried Packs to Savano Town, when Col. Hastings was Principal Factor, have not been paid for their Labour.

Ordered, that Capt. William Hatton, do examine into the Grounds |227| of the said Complaint, and in case it shall appear to him to be just, that then he do pay the said five Indian Burdeners, and give Advice thereof, to this Board.

Ordered that Indian John, Interpreter for the Charikees in Charles Town, be paid a striped Duffield Blanket, three fourths of a Yard Strouds and a Hat, out of the Store.

Ordered that Thomas Barton do furnish the Charikee Burdeners with some Powder and Shot to defend themselves and the Goods in their Journey Home; likewise a sufficient Quantity of Corn for the said Journey.

This Day loaded and dispatched with Goods, the Rest of the Charikee Burdeners, to return Home.

Adjourned till Thursday next.

"come to your Hand from Savano Town, by Water, on Account of the Trade, "provided you can readily get them drest and remitted to us, and that you "find the same will be gainfull to the Publick. We likewise impower and "authorize you, as Opportunity presents, to trade and deal with the Indians "at Port-Royall, for Skins, Furs, &c. on Account of the Publick; to maintain "which Trade, we shall be ready to supply you with such Merchandize as is "proper, so soon as have your Advice in the same. It's our Resolution to "prosecute those Persons you mention, who have clandestinely traded with "the Indians at Port-Royall: on Condition you can assist us with any Proof, "or more circumstancial Evidence, upon the Information; for want of which, "it will be to no Purpose to proceed; and we must therefore be obliged to "you for what Discovery you can obtain, as we in the mean Time shall dili- "gently inquire thereinto. We have considered the Complaint against Calli- "haun, and find it not within our Power to redress such Offences: all Persons "being free to deal with the Indians, which reside constantly in the Settle- "ments, for any Thing whatsoever, except Furs, Skins and Slaves; but however, "we will lay open his Crime to the Governour and desire his Vindication of "the Indians &c."

Ordered that Francis Yonge, Esq. be and he is hereby desired to remonstrate to the Honourable the Governour, the Complaint mentioned against Daniel Callihaun, in Relation to the Tuscorora Indians (so called) in the Letter received from Col. John Barnwell, the 17th Instant.

Mr. Edwd. Brailsford reported that he had sold and delivered to Mr. Walter Lougher, the 17th Instant, the raw Deer Skins then received from Savano Town, viz.; six hundred and thirty (best) at three shillings and nine Pence a Peece, and one hundred and twenty-four (ordinary) at one Shilling and ten Pence ½d a Peece; to be paid in Goods on Demand, at prime thereof in England, with seventy-five per Cent advance thereon.

Ordered that Thomas Barton pay out of the publick Monies in his Hands, on Account of the Indian Trade, unto Col. Alexander Mackey, or Order, in Part of the Salary due to George Hill, Assistant Factor in the Charikees, the Sum of thirty-two Pounds, ten Shillings, current Money, deducting at the same Time, two Pounds, ten Shillings |244| out of the said Sum for a striped Duffield Blanket, supplied the said Mackey with, at the Charikees, by Capt. William Hatton, out of the Goods belonging to the Publick, on Account of the Indian Trade; and that the said Hill's Account be charged for the said Sum of thirty-two Pounds, ten Shillings, according to his Request.

Col. Alexander Mackey tendered a Bill drawn on this Board by Robert Graham, dated December the 27th past, praying that the said Mackey might be paid forty Shillings per Month, out of his Wages, for his Service in the Trade to the Creeks; it being for extraordinary Services to the Publick, of the said Mackey's Negro Man (named Timboe, who was imployed in the said Trade, as well to tend the Pack-Horses, as to serve as Interpreter) which he promised to allow the aforesaid Mackey, out of his own monthly Pay, over the Sum allowed by this Board, for the said Negro Man's Hire; on Condition the said extraordinary Allowance should not be paid by the Publick.

Referred the above Matter, relating to Col. Mackey's Negro Man, until further Consideration.

Ordered, that Thomas Barton, pay unto Edmd. Maxwell, or Order, the Sum of ten Pounds, in Full of his Demands for the Care he took of the Publick's Skins brought down in the Periaugoe from Savano Town, the seventeenth Instant.

Ordered, that the Clerk attending this Board, do give Advice by a Letter to Capt. Glover, Factor at Savano Town, of the Receipt of the Skins, last brought down from thence in the Periaugoe.

Resolved and ordered, that Samuell Stanwood, Carpenter, be allowed and paid the Sum of three Pounds per Month, Wages, for his Labour (on Condition, he do proceed in the Periaugoe with Capt. James How to the Congarees) to build the Trading Houses, intended at the Congarees, by Direction of Capt. How.

Col. Alexander Mackey, being present, was asked for two Horses, belonging to the Publick; which Col. Hastings delivered him at the Charikees (being purchased with some of the Goods adventured by the Assembly in March 1715/16) as per his Receipt dated September the 8th, 1716, in Bundle *g* (No. 7), to which the said Mackey answered, that one of the aforesaid Horses was by him left among the Charikees; and the other, which formerly did belong to (Long) Jones, was returned to the said Jones.

Ordered, that Inquiry be made, to discover and take up the above-mentioned two Horses; the Latter of which (as it appears to this Board) was returned to the former Owner, notwithstanding he was purchased of the Indians, with Goods belonging to the |245| Publick; and moreover though the Publick is liable and have ordered Payment for the Horses lost in their Service.

Adjourned to the 30th Instant.

Thursday, January 30, 1717/18

The Board met according to Adjournment.

PRESENT: Capt. Jona. Drake, Col. Jno. Fenwicke, and Mr. Edw. Brailsford.

Received a Letter dated the 24th Instant from Meredith Hughes, Factor at Wineau, as per Bundle *e* (No. 5).

Ordered that the above-mentioned Letter be sent up to the Honourable the Governour, inclosed in the following Lines from this Board, viz.;

"May it please your Honour,

"Last Night we received the inclosed Letter from Meredith Hughes, our "Factor at Wineau. We apprehend the Consequence thereof, worth your "Honour's Observation. The Charraw Indians have often insulted our said "Factor, and still persist in their Villainy, and grow more dangerous, as appears "per the inclosed; what Mischief they may intend to execute at their next "Return, we hope you'l find Means to prevent. We pray your Directions "and Commands in that Behalf, as soon as possible, for we shall meet tomor-

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Monday, December 9, 1717

The Board met by Summons.

PRESENT: Col. Jno. Barnwell, Capt. Jonath. Drake, and Francis Yonge, Esq.

Ordered, that Nathll. Parrot, Assistant Factor for the Charikees, do proceed thither, with all Expedition, according to his Instructions.

Ordered, that Thomas Barton, do pay Nathll. Parrot, Assistant Factor, for the Charikees, the Sum of three Pounds, fifteen Shillings, to defray his Charges in Charles Town, ten Days; since his Entrance into the Service aforesaid.

Capt. William Hatton being present, and Security being demanded of him, for the faithfull Performance of his Trust and Charge, as Principal Factor for the Charikees; the said Hatton declared that he had endeavoured to comply with the said Demand, but could not prevail on any of his Friends to become bound with him to indemnifie the Publick; and therefore hoped that the Board would accept of his own Obligation, in Consideration of the like Indulgence granted to other Factors, in the like Case.

|229| Resolved; that the said Hatton's Bond of five hundred Pounds Obligation, for the faithful Performance and Execution of the Trust reposed in him as Principal Factor aforesaid, shall be adjudged sufficient Security from him; notwithstanding any Thing heretofore declared to the Contrary, in any Wise whatsoever.

Delivered Capt. Wm. Hatton, a Commission for being Principal Factor in the Charikees, of the same Tenor with that formerly sent to Col. Theophilus Hastings, late Factor there.

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Capt. Hatton informing, that his Honour the Governour, had desired, that a certain Girle, the Daughter of a French Man (who had sollicited his Honour in that behalf) might be redeemed and sent down from the Charikees.

Resolved, that this Board approves of the said Girle's being ransomed and returned to her Parents; they making Restitution for the Goods that shall be made use of, out of the Stock of the Trade, for her Purchase.

Ordered, that Thomas Barton, do pay unto Capt. William Hatton, Factor, the Sum of twenty Pounds, in Full from this Board, towards defraying his Charges and Expences in Charles Town, since his Arrival from the Charikees, to this Day, being eighteen Days.

Delivered Capt. William Hatton, Factor, an Invoice of the Goods lately sent for the Charikees, by 159 Burdeners, the same amounted to one thousand, eight hundred and forty-nine Pounds, eight Shillings and eight Pence, ¼d, as per Invoice Books, Page 27.

Ordered, that Capt. William Hatton, Principal Factor, appointed to reside among the Charikees, do proceed thither with all Expedition, and follow such Orders and Instructions in the Managery of the Trade there, as were given and issued by this Board, to Col. Hastings, late Principal Factor; and to himself, since the Absence of the said Hastings.

Adiourned till further Summons.

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Tues 22 Apr 1718 Mentions various bundles & letters received including Captain Hatton, also Col. Theophilus Hastings, [illegible] Factor for the Creeks.

273 Fri 09 May 1718..mentions payment of Dennis Moore of 9 Pounds for six bushells Corn, which it appearswas delivered to Capt. William Hatton for some Charikee Indians in the service of the Trade in November last past.

287 Thurs 12 June 1718. ..Ordered that a Cag of Rum be provided and sent up on the pack Horses now bound for the Charikees, and that Capt. Hatton, the Factor there, be ordered to make a Present of the said Rum, as given by the Publick, to Charitey Hagey of Tougeloe Town, in Remembrance of Friendship.

289 Sat 14 June 1718.. Ordered that..papers lying before the Board be delivered to Jonathan Darke and that ..he being one of the Members of the Commons House of Assembly. do lay same before House, viz., Capt. Hatton, Factor for the Charikees...evidently trouble between Cherokees and Creeks was reported by Col Hastings.

See following page 290 of the book. Following next.

kees, his Letter and Journal, received the 22d April past; Col. Hastings, Factor for the Creeks, his Letter and Journal received the 28th May past; and an Account Horses seized by Capt. Glover, Factor at Savano Town, received in his Letter of the 28th Ditto.

Ordered, that Mr. Edward Brailsford, Cashier for the Indian Trade, pay unto John Obrian or Order, the Sum of four Pounds, in Part of his Wages: it being to purchase himself several Necessaries.

Delivered John Coleman a Letter to Capt. Hatton, Principal Factor at the Charikees, with an Invoice inclosed, of Goods sent per the said Coleman, amounting to two hundred forty-one Pounds, fifteen Shillings and three Pence, ½d, as per Invoice Book, Page 36 (without the Charges included); the said Letter was as follows, viz.;

"June the 11th, 1718

"Capt. Hatton,

"Per Mr. James Dauge we received your Letter and Journal with the "unwelcome Account of the Imbezilment of a great Quantity of Goods. We "find so many Complaints and Clamours, that we cannot undertake to answer "them all, at this Distance, but shall examine and represent the most material "Matters to the Assembly (which sit some Time this Month) that such "Measures may be taken as will produce Satisfaction. Our Presence will avail "but little, if you (who have Power from us) cannot rectifie them. We admire "that Mr. Sharp should presume to beat and abuse the Charikees, and you "may depend he shall be punished for his Crime, and Nothing on our Part "neglected to redress and protect them. We also expect that full Satisfaction "shall be made the Publick for what Goods have been stolen from us; choosing "rather to loose the Name of Trading, then be robbed of our Goods, under "Pretence of Friendship; which we desire you'l signifie to Charitey Hagey "when you have a fit Opportunity. You may further assure him that the "Government will not make use of the Interest they have with the Creeks, "to his Detriment, unless his People give Occasion for it; and we shall en- "deavour to ease them of the Trouble of carrying Burdens, as soon as Pack "Horses can be got. It's strange to us that you have purchased no more "Skins, knowing there was a good Parcel of those you last rendred [*sic*] an Ac- "count of, left behind when the last Burdeners came down. You may purchase as "many Horses as you think fit and sufficient, with those already bought, and "we shall provide pack Saddles to them, but hope you'l contrive to send down "some of the Skins by Burdeners. Make what Dispatch you can in sending "them, and let |286| us know how the Indians' Behaviour is to you and the "Assistant Factors, and exhibit all their Complaints, that we may be able to "answer the same. We are surprized that the Charikees should suspect our "Men of joyning with their Enemies against them; and if it be true that there "was white Men with the Creeks, in the Action where the three Charikees "were lost, they were certainly French or Spaniards, for it is not our Way to "deal so perfidiously; and it was rightly observed that if we had had such a "Design, we should not supply them with Ammunition to oppose us. As "to what you write about the Virginians, we are sensible of the Mischief they

"do us in several Respects, by interfering in the Trade, and still hope the "Assembly will consider the same, and use Measures to prevent them. We "again assure you of the intire Satisfaction you give us by your prudent Man- "agement, and know no Person we could more willingly confide in for your "Post then yourself. Our former Instructions and Letters, shew that Mr. "Sharp is accountable to you for all his Dealings for us, except the independent "Adventure sent by him, which was ordered to be disposed of at Keywohee, "and the Returns made distinct. This comes per John Coleman and five "other Men, and incloses Invoice of some Goods and Ammunition, which we "send you by them upon thirteen pack Horses, consigned for the Use of the "Trade. Dispatch them back with what other Horses you get, laden with "Skins, and give and take Receipts for what you receive or deliver. We send "up besides Mr. Dauge, two other Assistants, viz., Benjamin Edwards and "Henry Webb, and have recommended them to you, to be placed where "most required. As to the Conditions of the Peace with the Creeks, we "cannot punctually inform Charitey Hagey of; but hope the Governour hath "or will do it. They expect that the Paths to the English Settlements should "not be molested by either Party, and have promised not to do it, for them- "selves, provided the Charikees will observe that Article. We send Charitey "Hagey a Cag of good Rum, and hope it will get up safe and prove acceptable. "We also send you another Cag, upon the same Horse, for your own Use. "There comes with the Goods now sent some gilt Leather Girdles, for which "we pay much dearer then the common plain Belts; they are intended for a "Tryal and unless they yield a Skin a Peece extraordinary, will not answer. "Get Charitey Hagey at all Times to order his People to bring down the "Skins from other Trading Houses to Tougeloe Store, as also to make a good "Pasture there for the pack Horses, and help and assist our Men with Pro- "vision. We shall [recommend] to the Governour, Charitey Hagey's |287| "Proposal about appointing a new Commander at the other Side of the Hills. "You will have a Form for keeping your Accounts by, sent per Mr. Dauge, "from our Clerk. We suppose you have heard of the Disappointment we "had in attempting to settle a Garrison at the Congarees, but hope shortly to "have one finished there, and then shall supply the Charikee Factory from "thence. We remain &c."

Delivered John Coleman Instructions, which were as follows, viz.;

"Charles Town, June the 12th, 1718.

"By the Board of Commissioners of the Indian Trade &c.; Instructions "for John Coleman, Chief of the pack Horse Men now bound to the Charikees.

"We hereby impower and order you to take into your Charge and Custody, "the Ammunition, Goods and Things laden by us on thirteen Horses for the "Charikees, and therewith, and the five Men appointed for your Assistants, "forthwith proceed to the Charikees, to our Chief Factor; and when you "arrive, deliver him the said Ammunition, Goods &c., and take a particular "Receipt for the same, and apply yourself to him for further Instructions, "observing whatsoever he shall order you in our Behalf, relating to the Trade; "and as soon as he shall deliver you our Effects, and order you to return,

299 Sat 05 July 1718. And now trouble with the French

"Charles Town, July 5th, 1718

"Capt. William Hatton,

"Our last to you was of the 11th June past, per Mr. Coleman, whom "we dispatcht with a Parcel of Goods upon thirteen Horses, and after his "Departure were obliged to send an Express to stop him at Mr. Donovan's "Plantation (where he still remains) upon receiving Advice of an Expedition "intended against the Charikees, by several Nations of Indians, headed by "two hundred French Men, which is to be atchieved [*sic*] the Beginning of the "next Month, viz., August; and that Tougeloe and the upper Settlement "will be attacked at one and the same Time; about which Matter and how "you are to act in the same, we refer you to the Governour's Letter, and like- "wise order you to acquaint the Charikees, that we had this Information from "St. Augustine, and that they may depend on the Certainty of it. We have "with what Expedition we could, procured other eleven Horses, and now "are sending them up with Ammunition, as per Invoice to be sent with Nathll. "Riscoe and John Milbourne, who are to proceed to Mr. Coleman, and shall "[order?] Mr. Milbourne and Mr. Edwards, Expresses, to carry this Letter "before, that the Charikees may send a Guard for the Ammunition, and have "time to fortifie and provide themselves to oppose their Enemies. You must "immediately consult with the Heads of them and secure the Goods, and "yourselves, letting them know that as they were our first Friends (notwith- "standing their past Misbehaviour) we do espouse their Cause, and shall be "forward in assisting and protecting them against All their Enemies, as they "may now see by the Care we have taken to send Ammunition, and our Prepa- "ration to joyn them with a Number of Men, if Need requires; which Friend- "ship we suppose they will not find from their new Guests, the Virginians, "whom they depend so much upon. We have agreed with Mr. Milbourne, "and send him up, as a Gun-Smith and Assistant to you, to be at Tougeloe, "believing the Charikees may have Occasion of such a Man; you must take "care to receive Payment for his Work, at such Rates as shall be agreed on "|297| with the Indians. We leave it to your Discretion to give us an Account "how Things happen on this Occasion, with all possible Speed, either by some "Runners hired on Purpose, or by two of the white Men, that we may know "how to proceed in giving Aid and Succour to the Charikees; being in Pain for "them, and Everything at a Stand here; expecting a Breach with the Creeks, "and resolved to defend the Charikees, if they should be oppressed, as we "fear they will be. Wherefore we urge again to have Intelligence from you, "and conclude; leaving it to your Prudence, to act in what is further needful, "at this difficult Juncture, as you think proper. We are &c."

Sent the following respective Letters to John Coleman and Benjamin Edwards, at Mr. Danll. Donovan's Plantation, per John Milbourne, viz.;

"Charles Town, July 5th, 1720[1718]

"Mr. John Coleman,

"We received yours and find you had received but one Horse from Mr. "Donovan; but can't tell if you had any Bullets, as was expected at Mr. "Ravenel's. As for the Information we had of Mr. Dowey's Design for Vir- "ginia, we believe 'twas only to get clear of his Creditors; and though at first "View, you seemed blameable in not giving us Notice (for which we are "obliged to those that did) yet we shall be always satisfied of your Integrity, "untill we find Cause to the Contrary. Mr. Webb (whom we sent for and "examined upon Oath) has sufficiently cleared you of any Imputation of "being concerned in that Matter; so let there be no more Disturbance or "Difference amongst your Men, but endeavour to keep them united, striving "who shall be most forward and diligent to serve the Publick, which will be "to your own, as well as our and their, Benefit. We send you now by Nathll. "Riscoe and John Milbourne, eleven Horses, laden with Ammunition, which "you must also take under your Charge, and make the Best of your Way to "Capt. Hatton, Principal Factor at Tougeloe, giving us an Account, at your "leaving the Settlements, of all Occurrences; and send Mr. Milbourne and "Mr. Edwards' (taking all their Baggage, upon the pack Horses) Expresses "before you, with all the Letters, to Capt. Hatton: that the Charikees may "send a Guard to convoy the Ammunition. We expect that the Traders "should assist you and your Men, at this Juncture, in managing the pack "Horses up, and when you arrive, Capt. Hatton is to order what is further "to be done. Loose no Time in getting up to the Charikees, because the Am- "munition will be wanted, against the Time their Enemies come against them, "which is to be next Month, as we are informed from St. Augustine. What "Quantity of Ammunition and Necessaries comes upon these eleven Horses, "you have an Account of here inclosed. Wishing you a |298| good Journey, "we remain &c.

"P. S. You'l have the Account above mentioned, per the pack Horses; "this is sent in Haste. If Mr. Edwards' Horse be not fit for an Express, let "him have One out of the Gang, or assist him in getting One immediately."

"Charles Town, July 5th, 1718

"Mr. Edwards,

"We received your several Letters, informing us of what you knew of "Mr. Dowey's Intrigue to go off, for which Advice we thank you, and trust "the Danger is over, since he is intercepted and that no further Misunderstand- "ing will arise among the Men. We have this Day wrote to Mr. Coleman. to "take your Baggage on the pack Horses, that you may with the greater Speed "carry our Letters before, to Capt. Hatton; Mr. Milbourne is a Guide, and "knows the Way to Tougeloe, so that we desire you both, on Receipt of this, "to get yourselves ready, and set forward to Capt. Hatton accordingly, this "being the Needful at Present from &c."

Ordered, that John Poor (by Reason of his Endeavouring to conceal the Intrigue of David Dowey, to run off of this Province &c) be and he is hereby discarded as unfit to be imployed any more, in the Publick Service.

Entered Thomas Farrell, as a pack Horse Man, for the Charikee Trade, in the Room and at the Allowance, of John Poor.

Adjourned to the 9th Instant.

304 Weds 16 July 1718. Capt William Hatton, Factor for the Charikees, lately arrived from thence, came and delivered in his Journal of Proceedings from April the 7th last past, to 10th instant, as per bundle.

306 Sat 19 July 1718

Upon Motion of Capt. Hatton, Factor, and John Sharp, Assistant Factor for the Charikees, that there is a Necessity at this Time to alter the Prices of Goods at that Factory, by Reason of the Indians forsaking our Trading Houses, and going to the Virginians, who supply them at much cheaper Rates than the Carolina Traders can answer to take; to the Prejudice of the Publick, and alienating the Minds of the Indians from us;

Resolved, that the Chief Factor for the Charikees, be instructed to sell Goods hereafter to the Indians there, at the same Rates and Terms as was agreed on with the Creek Indians, by this Board.

Ordered, that Capt. Charlesworth Glover, Factor for Savano Town be, and he is hereby, ordered and required, to deliver unto Laurence Dredge or Order, out of the publick Pasture, one Mare described as per Mergt. (a black Mare, not branded) which Mare (claimed by the said Dredge) was seized by the said Glover, on Account of the Indian Trade, by Virtue of a Warrant from this Board.

Ordered, that Mr. Edward Brailsford, Cashier of the Indian Trade, pay unto Capt. William Hatton, Principal Factor for the Charikee Trade, the Sum of one hundred and twenty-five Pounds, current Money; being for six Months' Salary as such, which became due to him the 17th Day of |305| June past.

311-2 Same Date

Delivered Capt. William Hatton, Factor for the Charikees, an Invoice of the Ammunition now to be sent thither per eleven Pack Horses, amounting to five hundred eighty-nine Pounds, 19s/11d, with Charges, as per Invoice Book, Page 37.

Delivered the said Factor for the Charikees, a Schedule of Prices, how the Goods are to be hereafter sold to those Indians (being the same as specified in Page 275) together with Instructions as follows; viz.,

"July the 19th, 1718

"Instructions for Capt. William Hatton, Chief Factor for the Charikees.

"You must on your Arrival at the Charikees advise [311] with the Con-"juror, and the other Head Men, and inform them that we having certain "Information that the French, with the Indians in Amity with them, having "a Design to fall on their Settlements, the latter End of August, we sent the "earliest Advices of it, that they may defend themselves; and we advise them "to infort their Women and Children, and sent [*sic*] out Scouts that timely "Notice may be given us, if the French should proceed against them; and in "such Case, they may depend on our Friendship and Assistance. That upon "your receiving certain Advice, that the French are coming to head any In-"dians against the Charikees, you are to send Expresses to the Commanding "Officer of the Men at the Congarees, who will have Instructions to act against "the French, and secure our Forts, Traders and Settlements in that Country. "You are further to desire the Indians to assist you in building Forts at your "Trading Houses, for the Security of yourselves and Goods; and to miss no "Opportunity of giving the Governour what Advices you can of your Pro-"ceedings. But if you find there are no white Men to head the Indians, but "only Parties of Indians, you are to intimate so much to the said Commanding "Officer at the Congarees, who will have Instructions to act accordingly. That "they have promised we should have a clear Path, to the Creeks and Charikees; "but we have been informed that they have killed several People near the "Savano Town, and taken away the Goods which we hope they will refrain "from, for the Future. As for the Prices of Goods, we thought fit to alter "our former Instructions, and inclosed you a new Schedule, according as we "agreed with the Creeks; which Schedule you are hereafter to deal by, and "send Orders to all your Assistants accordingly. We sign &c."

Adjourned to the 24th Instant.

3;2 Thurs July 1718 ...Ordered that Capt William Hatton, Principal Factor and John Sharp, Chief Assistant Factor, do, and they are hereby ordered to, return forthwith to their respective Posts in the Charikees.

314-5 Fri 01 Aug 1718.

Delivered to Capt. Hatton and Mr. Sharp, each of them, a Warrant under the Great Seal of this Board, to seize any Skins, Furs, Slaves, Goods, Liquors and other Merchandize, purchased or bought of, or carried or sold to, or brought from any Indian or Indians, in Amity with this Government, by Eleazer Wiggan or any other Person or Persons, contrary to the Acts of Assembly for the better Regulation of the Indian Trade.

Ordered, that Mr. Edward Brailsford, Cashier of the Indian Trade, pay unto Mr. John Brown, or order, the Sum of fifteen Pounds fifteen Shillings, current Money, on Account of Capt. William Hatton, Factor for the Charikees; being in full Allowance of the said Hatton's and his Linquist's Board in Charles Town, since his last Arrival here, which was the 10th July past.

Also unto the said Brown, or Order, the Sum of fifteen Pounds, fifteen Shillings, current Money, on Account of John Sharp, Assistant Factor for the Charikees; being in full Allowance of his own and his Linguist's Board in Charles Town, since his last Arrival which was the 10th July.

Accepted a Note drawn on this Board, by William Hatton, Factor for the Charikees, for eighteen Pounds, five Shillings, in Favour of Jno. Brown, payable as the same becomes due, out of his Salary.

The 2nd Journal is missing at Madison + also at Salt Lake City

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22 July 1754

search of them in the Afternoon when they had given over Hopes of finding or seeing any were returning Home when suddenly they were fired upon from a Thicket by the path Side, one was killed on the Spot, one taken, and the rest made their Escape to tell the News. He whom they had taken Prisoner the fourth sought after when they were all asleep got off from the Enemy by cutting the Slave String with which he was tied, with a sharp, white Flintown, but much hurt with running and tying.

This Summer one of the Virginia Traders, Paris by Name, whom I have before mentioned with a young Man Paris, his Hireling, a Negroe Man, and John Hatton's Sister, half breed, had almost been killed in the Great Terequa Path from Canoste. The said Paris with his Company had come from Stecoe on Tewtewah River and passing my House went to Docharty's where he bought two Cows and Calves. The Day after took his Journey for Great Terequa which he was to pass in his Way to Toquo where he resided with a remarkable Indian and a Warriour of Tannassee who had some Days before come over the Hills to Docharty's in order to pay a Debt he owed him. When Paris was come within four or five Miles of the Terequa for Fear least his Cattle would tire encamped, the Indian who was a little Way behind coming up, said he would proceed to the Town it being but a little Way |20| off, and notwithstanding Paris and the Woman entreated him earnestly to stay and told him the Path was dangerous, however the Indian would not and not two Miles from where Paris stayed had his Horse shot under him, and was himself carried off where no News has been heard of him since, and I belive [ever] will, and Cattle though they have been the Death of some Virginia Men in Times past at that Time saved the Life of one with his Company.

There have been but few killed in any of the Middle Settlements and the Lower Towns that I can hear of.

I have made bold with Submission to give your Excellency this tedious Account of these People in relation to their Enemies and if nothing else can be enferred from it, I am sure one Thing may, to wit that they stand much in need of what Assistance and daily Encouragment South Carolina can give them to continue their Allegiance and Friendship firm as it certainly is at present throughout the Nation for the Indians are not powerful Enimies, yet was it so to happen they would be found very troublesome ones.

I shall not trouble your Excellency with any Account of the Trade only that it is carryed on in strict Opposition to the late Ordinance, more or less, by all, for the less Traders must of necessity follow the Way of the greater or they have no Business here. I humbly beg Pardon for this Trouble and am with all due Submission and Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble, most obedient, and most obliged Servant,

LUD. GRANT

JAMES FRANCIS TO GOVERNOR GLEN

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Sir, I should [illegible] cerning this cruel Murder perpetrated [illegible]

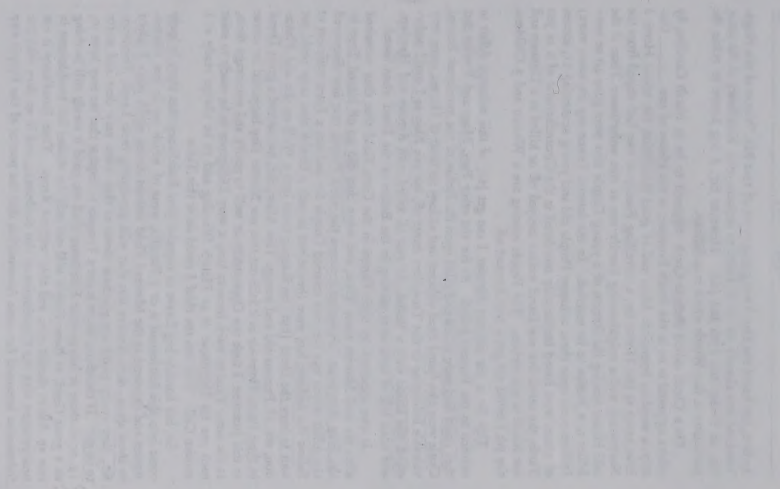
Indians, but heard the Day I was going to set off that Mr. Wicose of this Neighbourhood was already set off to Town to acquaint your Excellency of the same, viz. on Friday the 27th last past. However Sir, I beg Leave to relate the particulars in few Words which is as follows.

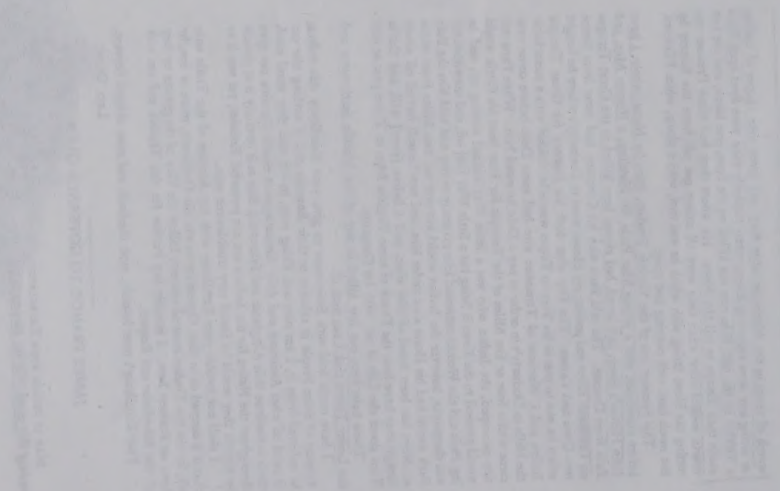
On a Creek called Buffalo Creek supposed to be in North Carolina, by others supposed to be in the South Province, at the House of one _____ Guttery, a sociable, hospitable Man, and of good Resolution (at whose House I have been) at this House Sir, a travelling Family or two had stoped from the Northward, and a neighbouring Family was at this unfortunate Time at the said House waiting the Return of a young Couple that were gone 40 or more Miles to a Justice to be married. In the interim (some say 60, some more) Indians came upon these unhappy People old and young accounting 21, sixteen of whom were found barbarously murdered in the Circumferrence of 2 or 300 Yards, the other five not found wether carryed off or killed at a Distance and not found is not certain. The People missing are a Woman and 3 Children, the 5th I could not get a true Account off.

This Sir is the exactest Account I can get |21| of this unhappy Affair in relation to the Persons killed. As for the other Part, Hogs and Fowles that they could find were killed and piled upon the Bodies of the murdered. Several Cattle were also found dead adjacent and at least 20 head of Horses, some very valuable belonging to the Travellers drove off, but one Man as I could understand was killed with a Bullet, the rest all killed with Arrows and Hatchets, and some left of both sorts sticking in the Bodies of the Dead when found.

It also appeared by their Camps in the Corn Field that they remained after the said Murder some Time, and when they did go off blazed Trees in the Way they went. However it seems the white People that first discovered the Affair which was the new married Couple &c. had not a Force sufficient to follow the Indians, but were themselves in such a Panick that they could not wait to bury the Dead [but] by flinging them into a Well on the said Plantation, viz. 16 Persons old and young. This Affair, Sir, has caused a great Dread in these Parts. However as it falls out that our Muster Day happened on course at this Juncture, I took the Oppertunity as well to pacify and encourage them, at the same Time to warn them to keep a wary Dilligence to be ready to assist each one his Neighbour at an Hour's Warning and to be always ready at a sudden Call. This was the chief I could do at this Time.

Sir, but humbly beg Leave to acquaint your Excellency that there is lately come into this Settlement 6 or 7 Familes, some of which are in low Circumstances and appeared at the Musterd Field without Arms, which when I talked to them about, their Answer was that with purchasing their Lands, Provisions &c., they really could not purchase Arms as they were very dear and scarce to be got. If therefore, Sir, it is not a Trespass to request that we may have 10, 15, or 20 more or less as your Excellency shall see good it surely will be doing us a great Good, as these People will not only be useless but troublesome in case an Alarm should rise, and they without Arms. Your Excellency is not unacquainted with the Constitution of this Settlement, and if we dare with due Submission interceed for some Ammunition that the poorer of the People may





At Keewae

John Dunning, This is to satisfie you, and all the white People in the Lower Towns that there is no white Man killed. 'Twas a false Report that Murfey was killed. Stickcoee took Burnett's Goods but returned them again. This did they over [the] Hills. Warren has a great Meeting at Hiwassee about what had liked to a'happened to the white People and they say if one had been killed they would have sent for him. The white People run away for Nothing out of these Parts, for had they a'been killed we would all a'died with them. You are to acquaint the Warriers of John Hatten's Town, and the Warriers of Richard Smith's Town, that all the Inquiry is new, good and loves the white People, and remembers the great King's Talk and keeps it in his Breast, and has not vamapeted [*sic*] it up.

From your Friend and Brother,

Skier Rosskee

|8| P. S. Freind John, your Leather and other Goods is safe at Keewae in the House. The Indians would not suffer Anything to be medled with, till William retorned.

From yours to serve you,

Charles Gr. oves

19 May 1751

56

JAMES ADAIR TO WM. PINCKNEY, ESQ.

|58| Beaver Creek, May 7th, A. D., 1751

Sir, I last Summer wrote to the Honorable Council and you, each a Letter, shewing the Force I lay under of going to the French; the Contents were very large and the why as uncommon, to which I refer you. Monsieur endeavoured to tempt me with thirty-two thousand Livers, which not taking they formed Bills of Capital Crimes against me, and retained me as close Prisoner for three Weeks. In short, for all the Consequences of the Chactaw War. The World thinks it strange that I should be punishable both by the English and French, for that in Effect that was done for the one, and against the other in Time of a hot War. But so it happens in Time of Iron-Age. Only that I behaved like a Desperado against their Garrison, I should have been hanged and gibbeted; for they had the plainest Proof and clearest Circumstances against me; besides I need not mention their Policy, Envy and Treachery.

This Spring I went to the Cherokees, and saw the most evident Tokens of War; for Capt. Francis's Son and I were in great Danger of being cut off by a Gang of the Norward Indians even within ten Miles of the Nation. The evening before I left the Nation, a Gang of the Cherokees returned from the Southward who killed some white Men in Georgia, and were concluding that Night to cut us off. All Night we stood on our Arms, and John Hatten (who was born there and a desperate Man besides) persuaded us to break off with him to Carolina; but we deferred it, and the Indians the Execution of their Designs. Yet in the Narrow, all the Head Men of Keeohee and Istanory came with three Linguists, and persuaded me to write to his Excellency, a most cunning Remonstrance, and Petition, which they dictated. The Firs[t] extinuating their Crime of murdering the white Men and the Others requesting some swivel Guns, several of the Traders, as they were unacquainted with Letters, desired me to write to his Excellency and Council, the unhappy and dangerous Situation of Affairs in the Nation that they might us proper Measures against the then depending Consequences; for they told me the Government disregarded their Reports. And indeed, I having found the Government very remiss in the like Affairs, and being used so ill, and my Credit so small after having served them in a continued Chain of Actions, I thought my self blamable to have writ |59| because every faulty Character of Indians was rejected. Yet to serve the Country, I offered to Capt. Francis to prove on Oath all that I know of the Affair. If Carolina designs to stand on the defensive Part, and willing to give me that Encouragement which I possibly might merit, as well in this as I did in the Chickesaw and Chactaw Affair (with sufficient Credentials) I should induce the Chickesaws at Augusta, and many brave Woods-men to engage in the publick Service; and if I'm not mistaken in myself, with such brave wanton Fellows, I should be somewhat remarkable. I thought I was bound to write so much on several Considerations.

I'm Sir, your very obedient, humble Servant.

John Ha Hatten

122 Captain Fairchild to Governor Glen, Near 96 24 @ug 1751

Near 96, 24 August, 1751

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, As my Duty to your Excellency and the Interest of my Country, I am to inform your Excellency that I met with Mr. Doritithy, Trader from the Cherokees (in his Return from that Nation) who informed me by Way of Hints that Richd. Smith, Trader to that Nation, was partly the Cause of the present Uneasiness, for that the said Smith promised the Cherokees a Trade to Virginia and that the Indian Fellow which came down in his Company which he was to take to Virginia with him, who was to pilot him back through the Woods, back of the Catawbas, assuring the Indians of a good cheap Trade from that Province. For that Carolina was now grown troublesome, which Word Troublesome, it seems, has a great Weight with Indians.

The said Dorithey it seemed he had more to say of said Smith which he was silent to me in. Mr. Dorithey added that he was sure that Mr. Beamer would smother from your Excellency all he can of any bad Designs of the Indians, and in particular of any that should be paid in his Towns, for that he always did &c.

John Hatton

Mr. John Hatton, and Mr. Lanthanack, and William Boddington with a principle Indian Man which lives in the uppermost Towns is come down. The white Men all informed me that they come out of the Nation by Way of Steilt, or escape &c. And that the Indians of Kewoee and Estanaley are destroying their own Corn Fields by Way of fat'ning their Horses as if for some Journey.

Mr. Hatton informs me of a Letter which he hath to your Excellency. What induces me to mention Mr. Hatten having a Letter is that as the Traders themselves say that many Matters of Consequence are hid from your Excellency, and this Letter Hatten brings comes open, it might fall into such Hands as not to arrive to your Excellency at all. Therefore as my Duty and hoping your Excellency will pardon my Boldness in what I have written, which I have here mentioned as above &c.

I am to inform your Excellency that I have frequently seen Indians about and above 96, all which calls themselves Cherokees but by their not hunting Deers, and they uses Bows and Arrows, makes me think your Excellency will be pleased to Pardon the Freedom I have here taken.

I am your Excellency's most dutifull and most obedient, humble Servant.

JOHN FAIRCHILD

P. S. Since our Arrival up here, we thought fit to put up a small Fort with Puncheons in Case Occassion should call for a Place of Retreat.

- over -

Thursday, A.M., the 5th Day of July, 1753

The Cheifs of the Upper and Lower Cherokee Nation attending with out, were admitted to a Conference or Talk with his Excellency in Council, at which Time James Beamer and John Hatton, two Cherokee Traders, being duly sworn to interpret truely every Thing which was to be said by his Excellency to the said Indians, and what they should say to the Governor, when after the Ceremony of shaking Hands and every one seated, his Excellency addressing himself to the Indians, spoke as follows, viz.,

GOVERNOR. Friends and Brothers, Yesterday you heard my Talk when I told you that the cheif Thing for which I sent for you was to conclude a Peace with the Creeks. There are other Things proper to be mentioned, but as you have not fully answered that Point, if you have any Thing else to say I am ready to hear you.

I have now in my Hand a Letter from Old Hop of Chote attested by Hatton and Beamer, about a Peace with the Creeks, and who says that before now every Thing was clowdy, but since hearing from the Governor, every Thing is now clear and bright. I perceive at the writting of this (looking on the Letter) Ustineca and Tasitte of Hywassee were present. I suppose they remember it, and as probably this is the last Time we shall talk together before you leave the Town, I desire you will disburthen yourselves freely to me and conceal Nothing. (Pointing to an Indian) |292| I perceive you have the Pipe in your Hand which Hop sent me down as a Token of Friendship, and desired

RICHARD SMITH AND JOHN HATTON TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter to the Governor signed by Richd. Smith and John Hatton containing the Talk of Old Hop from Chote, viz.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, The Speech of Old Hop sent by a Messenger from Chote.

I find I have been deceived by the Nittewakees* a long Time. We took them to be our Friends, but now find they have been seeking our Distruction. They come into our |29| Nation under Pretence of being our Friends and in the Time of some of them here amongst us, others of them are killing us, and must think you are deceived by them in takeing them to be your Friends, and recomending to us to be at Peace with them for they brought in Collours from the French which we despised and have burned their Colours. We have observed what you often recomended to us to be at Peace with the Creeks and have made a firm Peace with them and the Catawbas. And I that has been a beloved Man for a long Time am now provoaked to take up the Hatchett of War against the French and Norward Indians, and beg you, as you are Governor of Carolina, you will send us a Supply of Amunition, and Guns, and Pistols. The French are dayly and will be now giving their Indians Supplies to come to war against us, and we begg you may send us 24 Baggs of Powder and Lead answerable to it with Guns, and Pistols, and Knives for we have sent to the Creeks to come and assist us, and we expect they will be here in great Bodies, and we want this Amunition to be ready to supply them as well as ourselves. This is what I thought proper to acquaint my Brother the Governor of and leave it to the Lower Towns to make an Adition.

* Does he mean Twightwee (a Nation of Indians living north of the Ohio River)?

At Fort Prince George

This Day the Headmen of all the Lower Towns mett and made the following Speech:

To our Brother the Governor of Carolina, We have often heard that King George over the Great Water owned us for his Children as well as you white People, and that you the Governor of Carolina was sent to Carolina to act in his Stead, and if we were in want of any Thing at any Time to apply to you for it. We hope you as our Governor, and as we have applyed to you for Assistance, you will assist us in our Necessity.

|30| N.B. After this Letter was wrote Wryhoche, the Headman of Kehowee, claimed and desired to be remembred to the Governor and begs he would send him a rideing Saddle, a Case of Pistols, and that he never had any of the Presents given the Raven in consideration of their Lands.

Interpreted by RICHARD SMITH and JOHN HATTON

In the meantime I am glad that the Peace betwixt you and the Creeks is likely to last, and that your People have made very good Hunts.

I am &c.

JAMES GLEN

SERGEANT HARRISON TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Sergeant Thoms. Harrison

Dated Fort Prince George, the 13th of April, 1754, viz.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Since I sent down my last Letter the Indians have had their Consultation about what I wrote in my last, and the inclosed is as the Indians deliverd it. As Smith and Hatton declared to me that they will give their Oaths to be the Truth of what was declared, and as they have made their Complaint to me |35| of their being not provided for, to send down to serve them I have given the Fellows that come a Letter to free them from Expence upon the Path which I hope your Excellency will not take ill of me, which is all the Particulars I can find out at present.

I am Sir your most obedient, humble Servant.

THOMAS HARRISON

GOVERNOR GLEN TO THE CHEROKEE HEAD MEN

Letter from his Excellency the Governor to the Head Men of the Cherokee Nation

Dated the 30th Day of April, viz.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, You may remember that about seven or eight Years ago you sent me Word that some French Men were than in your Nation, that they had brought with them French Collours, and some small Presents, and were attended by many of their Indians and preposed a Peace betwixt you and them. I soon saw that their Intention was to withdraw you from your true Interest and therefore my Love for you made me undertake a long Journey to meet you in the Woods, on the Borders of your own Counttrey, when in presence of most of the Head Men of the whole Nation the ancient Treaties betwixt the English and the Cherokees were so [firmly?] renewed.

I gave you good Advice adviseing you to be ware of the Artifices of the French, and recommended to you to adhere to your old Friends.

I told you that the Road to Carolina which you and your Fathers had been accustomed to, was streight and smooth, but that it was dangerous to try untrodden Paths. You then gave me the strongest Assurances, that you would turn a deaf Ear to all they could say, and though they came into Chote as Messengers of Peace, yet upon your Return Home you were determined to drive them away, and accordingly I remember that soon after my good |36| Friend the Black Dog knoked one of them on the Head with a Hatchet, and threw his Body into the River, and another of them was shot at and wounded. This Conduct was the best Proof of the Sincerity of the Declerations you had made me, and though this was done when the English and French were at War, yet one would imagine it might have convinced them how vain it was to try ever to seduce you from your Engagement with the English, and perhaps your Conduct at that Time, and upon several Occasions since, especially the late Behaviour of the Little Carpinter upon the Mississippi makes them more cautious. They care not now to venture in [themselves]. They send their Indians before to pave the Way with Collours and Proposals of Peace, but my Friends remember your repeated Promises to me not to listen to them, you see how punctually I perform all mine. I assured you that you should have no

more Reason to complain of want of Goods, and I have accordingly taken care to supply you plentifully. I promised to come to Keowee in order to meet Old Hop. I fullfiled my Promise. I was sollicted to build a Fort in the Lower Towns to defend them from their Enemies. I said it should be done, and I have been as good as my Word, and therefore you may rely upon whatever I say. I now send you up Amunition, and you may put your Trust in me that it will be done.

You inform me that the Nittawegees, pretending to be your Friends, came into your Country and while some of them are in your Towns others of them killing your People. This is indeed very treacherous, but I cannot help thinking that it must be Caughnawagees or some other French Indians, and I am the more confirmed in this Opinion by their bringing with |37| them French Collours, for the real Nittawegas at the Back of New York who are Friends to the English would never bring Peace Talks from the French, but as the Coughnwagees and French Indians speak the Nittawagee Language they may perhaps sometimes persuade some of their young Fellows to come with them and call themselves by their Names purposely to deceive, but the true Test to try all Indians by is this, whoever would persuade you to break with your old Friends, the English, and make Friends with the French desire your Destruction. Such would rejoice to see you without Friends, without Cloaths, and without Arms or Amunition, that they might openly attack you, and so without Fear perpetrate what they are now forced to do by Stealth.

I am &c.

JAMES GLEN

SERGEANT HARRISON TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Letter from Sergant Harrison, Commander of Fort Prince George, to his Excellency

Dated May the 21st, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, This is to acquaint you that I have received your Letters interpreted to the Indians in the Lower Towns, and have sent them over to the Middle Settlements by a white Man and to be forwarded as soon as possible.

But my Answer from the Head Men of the Lower Towns is that your Excellency keeps promiseing them Ammunition, but as they see none come they think you never intend to send any. And with that Answer they got up, and said that if they were to apply to the French they should have Ammunition directly, and that they would go Home and think, and as their Thoughts led them they would go. On which Answer I have consulted with Mr. Beamer and Mr. James May from the Middle Settlements and they thought it was proper to lett your Excellency know as soon as possible. Likewise I have given them 50 wt. of Powder and 100 wt. of Bullets of my own on the Public Account to keep them as easy as I can till I hear what your Excellency will have done. I likewise have made diligent Enquiry to find out if any one has put these Notions in their Heads, but I cannot find any certain Proof of that. Mr. Beamer is very jelous. |55| It may be Hatton for the Indians themselves say that they want him gone from them, and that Smith and him are Lyers and will not tell the Truth, that your Excellency wrote to them which I beleave is a great Reason of their Uneasyness. I likewise strove all I could to get the Governor of Virginia's Letters and their Answers to them, which I hope I shall accomplish without any Mistrust from the Indians. I will send a Copy the first Oportunity after I get it.

Before I received your Excellency's Letter, Abraham Smith was returned into the Nation with a second Message and is gone over the Hills to Old Hopp and the Warriours with an Indian he had hired when he was taken sick.

I am your Excellency's most obedient, humble Servant

THOMAS HARRISON

P. S. This Day I gave the Indians the Powder and Ball, and they seem to be more contented for they expect a great many of the Creeks to go with them next Month against the French Indians to War, and has sent the Creeks Word that they had plenty of Ammunition expecting that your Excellency would have sent before now.

And if you please and think proper to send us Pistols, Cutlashes, and small Hatchets, Flints to defend ourselves we shall be very glad for we have News of a great many Enemies comeing upon us, and we beg that this Letter may not be forgot as our last was as we have sent our Token as you told us to send it when we were in Want and we desire an Answer to our Letter as we remain in brotherly Freindship.

TOSATE ____ OF TUCKASAGE
TOSATE ____ OF SLOCKE

KING AND HEADMEN OF THE CATAWBAS TO GOVERNOR GLEN

|13| Catawba Nation

By the Request of the King and Head Men of the Catawba Nation

LOVEING BROTHER, I am sorry to let you know that a few Days ago there was 16 of our Freinds, the White People, barbarously murdered and cut all to Peices, and 7 or 8 carried away alive by some Indians of what Nation I cannot tell. It was done within 40 Miles of this Town and we never heard of it for ten Days after. We went there but the Enemy being gone so long it was needless for us to follow them after so long a Start. Likewise we were scarce of Powder and Lead, haveing no Trader nor Goods amongst us all this Summer that we suffered much for the Want of one. That a few Days ago the Governor of Virginia sent us a small Matter of Powder and Lead amongst us by Abraham Smith and when we came to divide it was not above ten Shotts apeice.

We have waited a long Time for your Powder you promised to send us. The Enemy is a skulking about us now and then, and if a Body should come, we should be every Man destroyed for the Want of Powder. As the Waggons are now a going down no doubt but they would bring us up some, if you please to send it by them.

We have been wanting our old Freind and Linguister to go down, but he says he cannot for they will put him in Prison. Our People owe him a great Deal and have neglected to pay him these two Years past, but if we were fortified with Powder and Lead this Winter we would be able to set him on Foot once more. Our old People dye very [fast], and it is mighty sickly among us at present. We hope you will not forget us.

We are your humble Servants,

his
KING ____ HAGLER
Mark

his
CORNILL ____ CHICKENS
Mark

his
CAPT. ____ JOHN
Mark

his
CAPT. ____ SUGAR JEMEY
Mark

his
CAPT. ____ HARRIS
Mark

Headmen of the Catawbas Letter to His Excellency the Governor
Dated 15th Oct., 1754

LUDOVIC GRANT TO GOVERNOR GLEN

|14| Cherrokees, Tomatly Town, 22d July, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, It is not easey to conceive, much less to express, the inward Satisfaction of Mind I, in my mean Circumstances receive, by being in the least countenanced by your Excellency, neither is there any Thing that can depress that Joy which rises in my Heart on that Account, more than my Inability to effectually serve your Excellency and the Country in which I sojourn, and as my Will is sincere and ready on all Occasions I pray it may make up and excuse what Deficiencies are not in my Power to help while it is my good Fortune and Happiness that your Excellency does remain in this Province of South Carolina. I shall not fail as Oppertunity serves allways to acquaint your Excellency of what shall come to my Knowledge in relation to the Behaviour of these Indians as far as it concerns the Peace of Carolina or else where belonging to the King of Great Britain and likewise the Benifite and Security of the Trade which is at present carried on among these Cherrokees.

Since I wrote my last Letters by Mr. Buttler there is little happened in this Nation worthy your Notice, though I propose to acquaint your Excellency also with Things seemingly of mean Concern and leave the Inferrences to be drawen by yourself.

Your Excellency may remember in my last Letters by Mr. Buttler I gave an Account of a Message sent to Old Hopp by the Governor of Virginia inviting the Emperour and Little Carpenter in thither, in order to receive some Presents as the Letter specified, sent for them from the King of England. Abraham Smith who was the Messenger went in Person over the Hills, and as I can learn received one verbal Compliment for another to carry Home with him. However Smith returned with expedition from Virginia to Kewohee the second Time and proceeded no further, but from thence sent the second Letter which he had brought by one of the Virginia Traders who was there at Kewohee at that Time to Old Hopp who said he was much obliged to the Governor of Virginia for his Correspondence, but that as he was promised by his first Messenger, Ammunition and war Utensils, and that not being sent according to Promise, neither he nor his People could make Powder, and Bullets, and other Things they very much wanted, and Paper alone, meaning the Letters, would not defend them from their Enemies either at Home or abroad and upon slight Excuses altogeather declined going.

However they desired the Virginia Trader, one Paris by Name, to write their Answer to the second Letter and carry it to the Governor, and when the Headmen were conveened in order to consult what Answer to send, he, the said Paris, declined it till they should come to Starnekers, the Dutchman's House, on the Virginia Path, and where Paris proposed they should convoy him, and there he said the Warriours who were his Gaurd might send an Answer. It may be supposed that Paris by deffering to write the Answer till upon the Path, thought to lay an Obligation upon the Headmen to convoy him, but after all this he could hardly perswade any of them |15| to gaurd him homewards, only twelve Fellows nine whereof were Northward Indians who have lived some Years Over the Hills and almost naturalized.

July 1754

That Night or soon after they were come to Starnekers, there were thirty of the Catabaws who had been at War to the Northward and being so far returned homewards, took up Camp in the adjacent Neighbourhood in order to get some Provisions from the Inhabitants of the Place and to procure which sent a young Man of their Company ignorantly to a House near to Paris's Gaurd, who so soon as the Northward Fellows who were with the Cherroekees heard of an Indian and a Catawbaw they rushed into the House where the Catabaw was sitting and seizing and tieing him brought him off. As I before mentioned there were thirty of the Catabaws and had taken three Slaves and killed two on the Spot, and there being but nine Northward with Paris, they thot without Delay of making the best of their Way homewards and for Fear of being pursued by the Catabaws which doubtless they were the fourth Day came to Setticoe which was an unaccountable Haste. The Northward Fellow that first laid Hands on the Catabaw and for that Reason claimed him as his sole Property lives in Setticoe, and there he first intended to carry the Slave, which when the Little Carpenter, the Great Warriour, and several other Headmen heard they went and with stern and angry Countenances, cut the Slave's String with a Knife, and stamped upon the rattling Callabash they had given the Slave in his Hand to sing to, and told the nine Northward if they wanted to go to their Country they might when they pleased, that they were not affraid of them or their Nation nor the French, but they should carry none of their Friends as Slaves, so these Warriours above mentioned brought the Catabaw Home to them, and as in such Cases there Manner is, washed, painted, and new cloathed him, and intends to send him Home with a Gaurd to his own People as soon as he can walk, his Feet being much swollen by running.

It is now a general War between this Nation and the Northward Indians, especially those belonging to the French, some of whom were in this Nation early this past Spring, and as they said were sent from their Nation for some of these Overhills People with the Little Carpenter to go to their Nation in Company with them to confirm a Peace with them and other Nations; the Little Carpenter when they came first into Chottee was out at War, for which Reason most of them declined staying till he should come Home, and leaving an old Fellow whom they called a Warriour to accompany the Little Carpenter when he should come in from War, the rest returned Home. The old Fellow whom the Northward had left finding but small Encouragment for in those of the Cherroekees who had been at War and had brought in French Prisoners wanted much to be gone, and getting his Clearance from Old Hopp and his Council made the best of his Way homewards, fearing I suppose worse might befal him.

The Peace betwixt this Nation and the Creeks is unanimously confirmed by mutual Presents and amicable and free Intercourse |16| with each other; Companies of the Creeks have been in this Nation this Summer and several Creeks have been and are gone to the Southward. I am informed that over the Hills are gone by Way of the Chickesaws in order to assist them and the Creeks against the Chactaws with whom the Creeks are now also at War. However it may be thought the French who pretend an Interest in both Nations will do what they can to hinder that War to continue for unless it be a Piece of their Policy to hinder the Chactaws from falling to the English which that Nation

have several Times attempted, they, the French, will spare no Cost to bring about a Peace again. This Nation at present are wholly averse to the French Interest which has intirely been brought to pass (under God) by your Excellency's mild, friendly and judicious Managment of both Nations, as for these they have no thoughts of other Masters or Benefactors than the English at present and I belive will continue so.

The Fort which your Excellency laid out and personally settled at Kewohee (let unthinking People talk as their shallow Capacities prompts them) has had already an excellent Effect upon this Nation as they are daily more and more confirmed in their Minds of the Benefite it will in Time be to them and their Successors though I really belive, by some white People who had Reason to fear the Consequence of it, in relation to themselves, that the Indians were by such strenously perswaded against it; yet notwithstanding all by what I can learn from thence, the Indians were not only willing the Soldiers should plant the Land your Excellency purchased, but freely offered them other Plantations if they should want them. However I belive your Excellency is better informed of Affairs from the Fort than I am capable off, living at such a Distance from it.

As for my Part every Oppertunity that suitably offers I fail not to tell and endeavour to perswade these People that the very Name of a Cherroekee is abominable to the French, and that they togeather with their Indians want to patch up a pretended Peace with them that they may have the safer and surer Oppertunity to destroy and in Time to cut them off from being a People which I am perswaded the most I have talked with belive.

This Summer the Chekesaw Indians sent in Messengers over the Hills informing these People that the French and Chactaws had lately attacked them in their Towns, and that they beat them off with smal Loss, but they were still affraid the French would some Time or other send a Force against them which they might not be able to overcome for which Reason they intended this Fall to break up their Nation, that four Towns of them would come in over the Hills and the other three would settle in the Upper Creeks, and that the Over Hills People should meet them at the Chekesaws' Landing with Canoes at the Time appointed to transport their Women and Children. How true this may |17| prove I know not but belive that your Excellency may before this [be] informed of that Affair from the Southward and Mr. Elliot who lives in Chottee can acquaint your Excellency relating to that Design, what he has heard, and also what those People have resolved.

The 3rd of July came Messengers from Great Torequa to this Valley desireing their immediate Assistance to hunt after and drive from about their Town the Enemy who were numerous and they were affraid would attack them, that the Enemy had killed Uslunecus' Nephew as he was riding from Terequa to Tannassie, but that they had not got his Scalp. The Horse he road carrying him off some Distance from where he was shot before he fell to the Ground.

It is certain that all the Over Hills Towns are much infested with the Enemy who every Year kill some of their best Men which much weakens and discourages them. Should it at any Time be in the Power of the French to drive the Over Hills People from thence it would certainly prove of fatal Consequence first to this Nation and afterwards to the Out Settlements of Caro-

lina, for it is not to be doubted when the Over Hills Towns were broke up and gone that the French with those Indians would soon settle these famous back Rivers to which at present these Indians Over the Hills are the only Hindrance and afterwards would in Time drive this Nation to the Settlements or force them to comply which at Presênt they seem most averse to. However it is to be hoped that the Country will spare no Pains or Expence to enable them to stand their Ground by sending them Ammunition &c. the Want of which they complain of.

Frequent Communication with these Indians both by Word and Writ is a great heartning to them and they look upon your Excellency's Familiarity, Lenity, and good Usage they always have received, very much, and are always talking of it.

Again the 4th Day of the said Month, July, in the Morning, came other Messengers from Chotte, two for this Town Tomatly to the Warriour, and two to the Mankiller of Iwasee. These as they passed my House told me they had a Letter written by the white Men by Order of the Warriours desiring this Valey People to repair over the Hills with all Expedition to their Assistance against a great Body of Enemy who as they were informed were approaching their Towns especially Chottee. Iwassee, Canoste, and Little Telequa should go to Great Terequa, the long-Savanna People, Noewee, Tomatly, Cheawee, Nantarialy to Chote. That the Enemy had killed a beloved Woman in a Canoe by the Town by which they being alarmed pursued them, and took one of them and bringing him to the Town burnt him. He was by his Confession an Over the Lake Indian, and by his Whiteness they supposed him to be a whiteman's Son. Before he was burnt he told those People by a Northward Fellow, the Interpreter, who has lived some Years in this Nation that there was an Army of white and red down the River he mentioned and which he came from. That they were inforting themselves |18| and afterwards designed to come against Chotte and cutt it off because that Town only was always killing their Indians and taking their white Men who were Traders which Report though I belive groundless as I told them, as to the Design to cutt off any Town has occasioned their great Surprize and caused them to send for Help to this Valy.

I told these Indians that it has always been the French and their Indians' Custom in the Spring, for more or less of a Town to join togeather and go into the Woods, and upon some convenient River to settle and infort themselves for the Safety of what Women and Children they should have with them, and from thence to send off what Companies they should think proper to molest the frontiers Towns of this Nation, but that it was very improbable and hardly possible they ever would come in a Body against their Towns, for an Army sufficient for such an Enterprize would not live in the Woods for want of Provision, especially when they should approach near any Town where there were neither Bear, Deer nor Bufflow to be found, and that it was impossible for a Body of Men to come near their out side Towns undiscovered some or other being always in the Day Time a scoutting, and at this Time they had War enough at Home.

The Messengers from the Over Hills Towns brought also a Letter sealed to this Warriour of Tomatly desiring him with all Speed possible to send it to the Fort at Kewohee, and that from thence it should in all Haste be forwarded to your Excellency, and that no white Man should read or see it till it came to Kewohee which when the Warriour told me I said it was some what strange that his Uncle, Old Hopp, should send a Letter to him in whom they all so much confided, and not in the least to acquaint him with the Contents, and desired to see the Superscription thereof which when he brought it, found it was directed to the Commander of the Fort, and not to your Excellency and nothing in it, for I broke it open but a Heap of confused, incoherent Jargon which I suppose your Excellency has received before this.

Old Hopp attributes in it the Occassion of the War to your Excellency in putting and detaining in Prison those Savanahs that on that Account the Savannah Nation had given Belts of Wampam to the Northward Towns in general to come to War against these Cherrockees because they, when in Charles Town, did not procure the Freedom of the Savannahs from your Excellency and send them Home. That he would not write for Ammunition again, because he had been disappointed before (which of itself is a modest Demand and cunning Reproof). However each Trader has promissed them if they shall stand in Need of it one Bag of Powder and two of Bullets to defend them untill they hear from your Excellency, which they very much long for and especially the Warriour of Tomatly who expects with Impatience some Acknowledgment that your Excellency received his Talk.

The Letter was signed with Old Hopp's Mark, and what I have wrote was the chief Contents thereof, and thought proper to acquaint your Excellency least it should miscarry and not come to hand.

|19| Two young Men of Tannasse who were lately out a hunting were surprized in their Canoe by 3 Northward Enemy who fired upon them and missing them the two Cherrockees jumped out of the Canoe into the Swamp with only their Guns and shot Pouches which I suppose lay at Hand. The Enemy not daring to venture into the Swamp seized the Canoe and what Body of Skins &c. that was in her and turning her adrift took the Land. Some Days after a Party of Great Terequa Indians who were out at War coming across the Tract of the three Enemy, and finding a Mush Basket they had taken out of the Canoe, and knowing it to be of Cherroekee make, supposed that they had killed some Woman in her House and pursuing the Tract came up with them, killed one, took another, and the third run of and got clear. The Fellow they catched they brought Home to Great Terequa and burnt him there. This happened about the 12th July.

Twelve of the Northward Enemy lately came upon Iwasee River near the Town and in a Plantation killed a Cherroekee Man and carryed off a Notchee Woman, and being hotly persued the Enemy killed the Woman about 20 or 30 Miles from Iwassee, and left a considerable Booty of Beads and Blankets. When the Pursuers found the Woman dead proceeded no further but returned with what they had got.

Some time ago five or six Men of Canoste went over to Great Terequa to assist them to hunt the Enemy about the Town, and being one Day out in

LUDOVIC GRANT TO GOVERNOR GLEN

|14| Cherroekees, Tomatly Town, 22d July, 1754

May it please your Excellency, It is not easey to conceive, much less to express, the inward Satisfaction of Mind I, in my mean Circumstances receive, by being in the least countenanced by your Excellency, neither is there any Thing that can depress that Joy which rises in my Heart on that Account, more than my Inability to effectually serve your Excellency and the Country in which I sojourn, and as my Will is sincere and ready on all Occasions I pray it may make up and excuse what Deficiencies are not in my Power to help while it is my good Fortune and Happiness that your Excellency does remain in this Province of South Carolina. I shall not fail as Oppertunity serves allways to acquaint your Excellency of what shall come to my Knowledge in relation to the Behaviour of these Indians as far as it concerns the Peace of Carolina or else where belonging to the King of Great Britain and likewise the Benifite and Security of the Trade which is at present carried on among these Cherroekees.

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PEARIS FAMILY

Note: The underlining was on the library copy

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Do not lose this page — it proves lineage. Richard Peirs's wife was a Hatton!

Pages 19 & 20 (17 & 18 omitted)

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Some time ago five or six Men of Canoste went over to Great Terequa to assist them to hunt the Enemy about the Town, and being one Day out in search of them in the Afternoon when they had given over Hopes of finding or seeing any were returning Home when suddenly they were fired upon from a Thicket by the path Side, one was killed on the Spot, one taken, and the rest made their Escape to tell the News. He whom they had taken Prisoner the fourth sought after when they were all asleep got off from the Enemy by cutting the Slave String with which he was tied, with a sharp, white Flintown, but much hurt with running and tying.

This Summer one of the Virginia Traders, Paris by Name, whom I have before mentioned with a young Man Paris, his Hireling, a Negroe Man, and John Hatton's Sister, half breed, had almost been killed in the Great Terequa Path from Canoste. The said Paris with his Company had come from Stecoe on Tewtewah River and passing my House went to Docharty's where he bought two Cows and Calves. The Day after took his Journey for Great Terequa which he was to pass in his Way to Toquo where he resided with a remarkable Indian and a Warriour of Tannassee who had some Days before come over the Hills to Docharty's in order to pay a Debt he owed him. When Paris was come within four or five Miles of the Terequa for Fear least his Cattle would tire encamped, the Indian who was a little Way behind coming up, said he would proceed to the Town it being but a little Way |20| off, and notwithstanding Paris and the Woman entreated him earnestly to stay and told him the Path was dangerous, however the Indian would not and not two Miles from where Paris stayed had his Horse shot under him, and was himself carried off where no News has been heard of him since, and I belive [ever] will, and Cattle though they have been the Death of some Virginia Men in Times past at that Time saved the Life of one with his Company.

There have been but few killed in any of the Middle Settlements and the Lower Towns that I can hear of.

I have made bold with Submission to give your Excellency this tedious Account of these People in relation to their Enemies and if nothing else can be enferred from it, I am sure one Thing may, to wit that they stand much in need of what Assistance and daily Encouragment South Carolina can give them to continue their Allegiance and Friendship firm as it certainly is at present throughout the Nation for the Indians are not powerful Enimies, yet was it so to happen they would be found very troublesome ones.

I shall not trouble your Excellency with any Account of the Trade only that it is carryed on in strict Opposition to the late Ordinance, more or less, by all, for the less Traders must of necessity follow the Way of the greater or they have no Business here. I humbly beg Pardon for this Trouble and am with all due Submission and Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble, most obedient, and most obliged Servant,

Lud. Grant

PEARIS FAMILY

✓ Important

Key proof of ancestry

repairing the Breaches in the Ramparts, and rising Parapets. I would have repaired it with Pallisadoes, but Timber is at a very great Distance from this Fort, and I have not the Conveniency of a Waggon or Cart to bring the same. I recommend this to your Excellency's Consideration and am with Respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERÉ

CAPTAIN RAYMOND DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

|150| Fort Prince George, July 10th, 1756

SIR, On the 6th Instant, in the Evening, one Charles Cunningham arrived at Keowee from Chotee and went away very early the next Morning for 96 in Pursuit of Mr. John Elliott, as he says. He reported at Keowee that about 100 Men were come to Chottee from Virginia in order to help to build the Fort and that they had brought a Number of Cattle with them &c. I did not see this Fellow and could give no Credit to what was said or should have acquainted your Excellency with it. I cannot but say it gives me Uneasyness that your Excellency should hear of it by any Person but myself, I being on the Spot.

On the 9th Instant Mr. Richard Smith returned from over the Hills and brought me an Answer from Old Hopp and the Little Carpenter, which I send you inclosed. He reports that he did not see Samuel Benn, that he was come away, two Days before he arrived, with an Answer to your Excellency. That he brought no Warriours from Chottee with him, but that he was going to Tellico in order to get the Emperor of that Town (the Small Pox Cungeror's Son) and some young Fellows to bring to your Excellency, but no People of any Note or the least Consequence. He assured me that the six great Men of the Cherockees (viz.) Ottole Callo, or Little Carpenter, Oconnastole, Itowa Quo, Tellitlehe, Woolennowaugh, and the Chottee King are coming down on Purpose to see me here. Your Excellency may be well persuaded that I shall do my best Endeavours to entreat and prevail with them to come to see you, notwithstanding Mr. Smith says that he thinks they will not proceed any further downwards for the Reasons they give in their Letter.

Mr. Smith tells me, for certain, that there is at Chottee about 100 People which are come from from Virginia in order to help us to build the Fort and brought with them 40 Head of Cattle; they are under the Command of one Major Lewis and Capt. Overton. Major Lewis would have wrote to me by Mr. Smith but being very much indisposed desired to be excused. They not finding us there, at the Request of the Indians, they are now building a wooden Fort about a Mile above the Town of Chottee, which is five Miles above the Place appointed by Mr. Pearson for the building of our Fort and on the other Side of the River. These Virginians propose to return back to Virginia as soon as their Fort is finished, but the Indians intends to apply to the Governor of Virginia for 100 Men to garrison the same immediately. The Chiefs of the Cherrockees informed the Virginians that the Place they had appointed for the building their Fort was the most proper Place for intercepting all Shawannoe Indians that came by Land and the |151| Carolina Fort all that should

About the VA Fort

come by Water so that by having those two Forts well garrisoned they should be in the greatest Security.

Mr. Smith says he was one Parris, who had been from these Parts sometime with a Party of Indians to Virginia, who told him that he was returned in order to carry some of the Cherockees to assist the Frontiers of Virginia and that he had a Commission from the said Colony to be Captain over such as he could get to go with him. Major Lewis informed Mr. Smith that one Capt. Stolnaker that lived in the Frontiers of Virginia, who three Years past had his Family killed and was himself taken Prisoner by the Savannah or Shawannoe Indians, had lately made his Escape and returned to Virginia and says that he was present when the French sent the Savannah Indians off to these Towns in order to have all the White killed in this Nation and to get the Cherockees to join them against the English, and he says that the French promised them great Rewards &c. I have nothing more to add only all is well here and we continue in the greatest Friendship with the Indians and it appears they are more under Command. I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERE

CAPTAIN RAYMOND DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

Fort Prince George, July 12th, 1756

SIR, Samuel Benn arrived here this Day with the Emperor and the Small Pox Cungeror's Son who are good Friends to the White People. He has with him in all eleven Men and two Women, the Emperor's Wife and another. The Emperor has not the Eloquence of his Father, otherwise would be a very great Man. The rest that are with Benn are of no Distinction, being any that he could pick up. They have two French Deserters with them and are to proceed to Charles Town this Day to wait on your Excellency. I was obliged to supply them with Provisions and other smal Necessaries. I expect the six great Men, mentioned to you in my last, will be here this Day.

I hear that the People from Virginia are Labourers and no kind of Troops. 'Tis thought that Parris will get no Indians to go with him as he is not greatly liked by them. I would have waited sending this Express to your Excellency till the Arrival of the great Men from Chottee, that I might have had an Opportunity to acquaint you with every |152| thing that should have passed between us, but being convinced that the Virginians are now building a Fort at the Upper Cherrockees, which is perhaps with a View of ingrossing the Trade to themselves and will be very prejudicial to us, I could not delay a Moment longer but dispatched the Bearer immediately.

By the Letter I received from Old Hopp and the Little Carpenter they expect that I will go up with them but I shall excuse myself to them in the best Manner I can till further Notice from your Excellency. The Bearer of these Dispatches is one Joseph Galloway, a Soldier on this Command, and is a Man that I have a good deal of Confidence in.

I am informed that the Town of Tellico is not well satisfied or pleased with the Emperor for his coming away without calling a Meeting. Late last

repairing the Breaches in the Ramparts, and rising Parapets. I would have repaired it with Pallisadoes, but Timber is at a very great Distance from this Fort, and I have not the Conveniency of a Waggon or Cart to bring the same. I recommend this to your Excellency's Consideration and am with Respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

RAYD. DEMERÉ

CAPTAIN RAYMOND DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

|150| Fort Prince George, July 10th, 1756

SIR, On the 6th Instant, in the Evening, one Charles Cunningham arrived at Keowee from Chotee and went away very early the next Morning for 96 in Pursuit of Mr. John Elliott, as he says. He reported at Keowee that about 100 Men were come to Chottee from Virginia in order to help to build the Fort and that they had brought a Number of Cattle with them &c. I did not see this Fellow and could give no Credit to what was said or should have acquainted your Excellency with it. I cannot but say it gives me Uneasyness that your Excellency should hear of it by any Person but myself, I being on the Spot.

On the 9th Instant Mr. Richard Smith returned from over the Hills and brought me an Answer from Old Hopp and the Little Carpenter, which I send you inclosed. He reports that he did not see Samuel Benn, that he was come away, two Days before he arrived, with an Answer to your Excellency. That he brought no Warriours from Chottee with him, but that he was going to Tellico in order to get the Emperor of that Town (the Small Pox Cungeror's Son) and some young Fellows to bring to your Excellency, but no People of any Note or the least Consequence. He assured me that the six great Men of the Cherockees (viz.) Ottole Callo, or Little Carpenter, Oconnastole, Itowa Quo, Tellitlehe, Woolennowaugh, and the Chottee King are coming down on Purpose to see me here. Your Excellency may be well persuaded that I shall do my best Endeavours to entreat and prevail with them to come to see you, notwithstanding Mr. Smith says that he thinks they will not proceed any further downwards for the Reasons they give in their Letter.

Mr. Smith tells me, for certain, that there is at Chottee about 100 People which are come from from Virginia in order to help us to build the Fort and brought with them 40 Head of Cattle; they are under the Command of one Major Lewis and Capt. Overton. Major Lewis would have wrote to me by Mr. Smith but being very much indisposed desired to be excused. They not finding us there, at the Request of the Indians, they are now building a wooden Fort about a Mile above the Town of Chottee, which is five Miles above the Place appointed by Mr. Pearson for the building of our Fort and on the other Side of the River. These Virginians propose to return back to Virginia as soon as their Fort is finished, but the Indians intends to apply to the Governor of Virginia for 100 Men to garrison the same immediately. The Chiefs of the Cherrockees informed the Virginians that the Place they had appointed for the building their Fort was the most proper Place for intercepting all Shawannoe Indians that came by Land and the |151| Carolina Fort all that should

come by Water so that by having those two Forts well garrisoned they should be in the greatest Security.

Mr. Smith says he was one Parris, who had been from these Parts sometime with a Party of Indians to Virginia, who told him that he was returned in order to carry some of the Cherockees to assist the Frontiers of Virginia and that he had a Commission from the said Colony to be Captain over such as he could get to go with him. Major Lewis informed Mr. Smith that one Capt. Stolnaker that lived in the Frontiers of Virginia, who three Years past had his Family killed and was himself taken Prisoner by the Savannah or Shawannoe Indians, had lately made his Escape and returned to Virginia and says that he was present when the French sent the Savannah Indians off to these Towns in order to have all the White killed in this Nation and to get the Cherockees to join them against the English, and he says that the French promised them great Rewards &c. I have nothing more to add only all is well here and we continue in the greatest Friendship with the Indians and it appears they are more under Command. I am, Sir,

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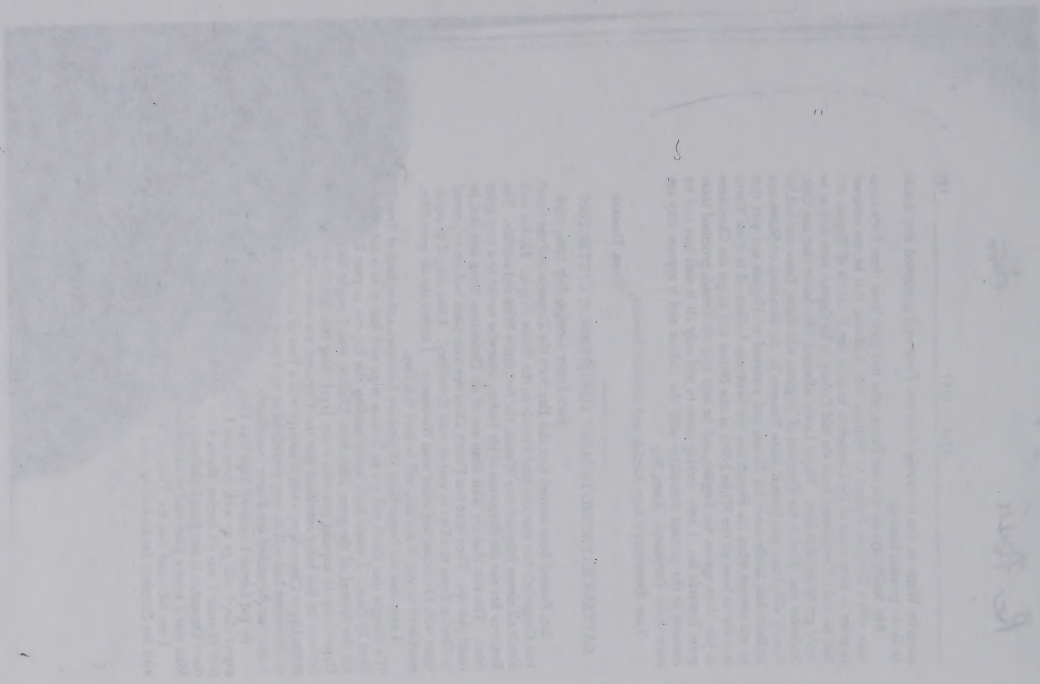

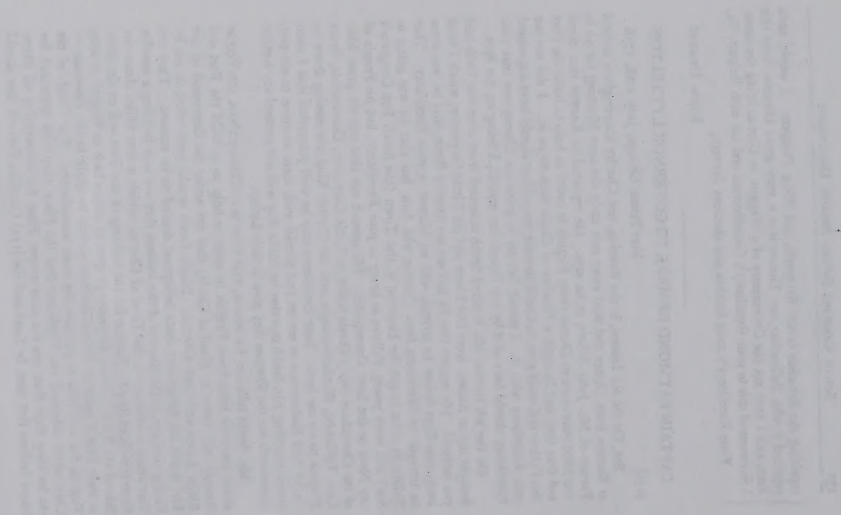

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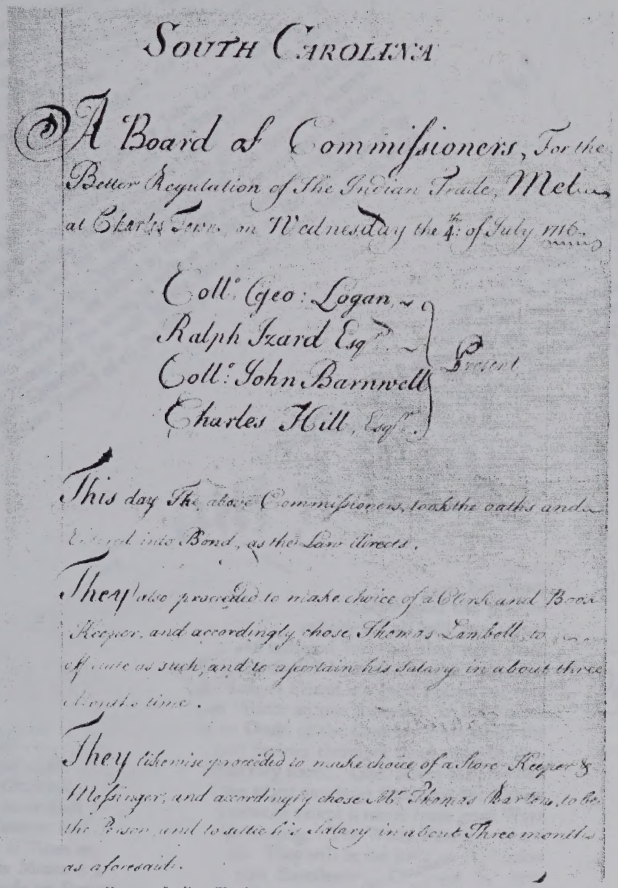

SOUTH CAROLINA

At a Board of Commissioners, For the Better Regulation of the Indian Trade, Met at Chas Town, on Wednesday the 4th of July 1716.

Coll: Geo: Logan
Ralph Izard Esqr
Coll: John Barnwell
Charles Hill, Esqr
} Present

This day the above Commissioners took the oaths and entered into Bond, as the Law directs.

They also proceeded to make choice of a Clerk and Book Keeper, and accordingly chose Thomas Lambell to be of Cato as such, and to ascertain his Salary in about three Months time.

They likewise proceeded to make choice of a Store Keeper & Messenger, and accordingly chose Mr Thomas Barton to be the Person, and to settle his Salary in about Three months as aforesaid.

Page 1, Indian Trade Commissioners Journal, 1716-1718

COLONIAL RECORDS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

JOURNALS *of the* COMMISSIONERS *of the* INDIAN TRADE

September 20, 1710-August 29, 1718

EDITED BY
W. L. McDOWELL

COLUMBIA
SOUTH CAROLINA ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT
1955

JOURNALS of the
COMMISSIONERS
of the INDIAN TRADE

The Board met according to Adjournment.

PRESENT: Ralph Izard, Esq., Charles Hill, Esq., and Capt. Jona. Drake.

Col. Theophilus Hastings, Principal Factor appointed for the Charikee Trade, came and informed the Board, that he had lately proposed to the Assembly, his being sent on a Message to the Creek Indians; and obtained their Approbation; and now desires Permission of this Board (on that Behalf) to be absent from that Factory; and recommended Mr. William Hatton, one of his Assistants (to whom he has committed the Key of the Trading House, and his several Powers and Orders from this Board) to |167| act in his Station at Tougeloe Town; during his Absence on the Treaty of Peace with the said Creeks; and desired that he might be ordered a Sum of Money (by Way of Advance) to furnish him with Necessaries for his fitting out.

Col. Hastings likewise intimated the Need of [illegible]

[illegible] Motion; that Mr. William Hatton, be appointed to officiate at |168| the Charikee Factory, in the Room and Stead of Col. Theophilus Hastings, Principal Factor for the Indian Trade, during his Absence from thence, by Permission from this Board;

Resolved in the Affirmative.

Received of Col. Theophilus Hastings, a Bundle of Writings and Papers, containing several Powers, Orders and Instructions sent him at several Times from this Board, relating to the Trade, with the Charikees;

Ordered, that the abovesaid Writings and Papers be transmitted to Mr. William Hatton, for his better Direction how to proceed in the Indian Trade, at the Charikees, according to the Method prescribed (in the said Writings) by this Board.

COMMISSIONERS
of the INDIAN TRADE

Ordered, that the said thirty-one Indian Burdeners, do proceed with the aforesaid Goods &c. to the Charikee Factory (by the Way of Mr. St. Julien's) to Capt. William Hatton, Chief Assistant Factor; and that some Loads of Powder and Shot be given to each Man of them (who carrys a Gun) for their Defence, and the Security of the Publick's Goods and Ammunition.

John Chester, Assistant Factor, appointed for the Charikees, entered into Bond, for the Discharge and Performance of his Trust as such, as per Book of Bonds [*f*] (No. 6).

|169| Delivered the said Assistant Factor, Instructions of the same Form and Tenor, as before given to other Assistant Factors in the Charikees, as per Journal in Page 90 and 91.

Wrote and delivered to John Chester, a Letter to Capt. William Hatton, together with sundry Papers and Writings, received this Day of Col. Hastings, as also an Invoice of Goods and Merchandize now sent by the thirty-one Burdeners for the Charikees, amounting to three hundred ninety-eight Pounds, eighteen Shillings and eleven Pence ½ d, Charges excluded, as per Invoice Book in Page 16; the said Letter being as follows, viz.;

"June the 17th, 1717

"with

Ordered that John Chester, Assistant Factor, do proceed for the Charikees with all Expedition, and there apply himself to Capt. Wm. Hatton with the above said Letter, to receive of him, further Directions, in Relation to his carrying on the Trade there, with the Indians.

Adjourned till tomorrow Morning.

"March the 11th, 1716/17

"Col. Hastings,

"We have yours of the 6th February past, by John Chester, and hope by "this Time all your Assistants are arrived in the Charikees, viz.; John Sharp, "James Dauge, William Hatton, Jury Barker and George Hill, whom we have "long since dispatched to you for that Purpose, and given necessary Advices "concerning the Trade, by all Opportunities, but find you have not received "several of them; therefore, we expect by the next you'l be punctual in inform- "ing us of the Receipt of the same, as well as of the Goods, having dispatched "a considerable Quantity (as well by the Burdeners to the Charikees, as by "Water to Savano Town) of all the Sorts you mention, except Vermilion, which

P169

Likewise unto Thomas Barton, or Order, the Sum of twenty-five Pounds, current Money, in Full of his three Months' Salary in the Service of this Board, to the fourth Instant;

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'9 J 29
1717

Likewise unto Capt. William Hatton, or Order, the Sum of twenty-five Pounds, current Money, being for three Months' Salary, which became due to him the seventeenth Day of June past, for his Service in the Charikees, as Assistant Factor there;

Col. Barnwell delivered to the Board, two Letters (informing that he received the same the 20th Instant) which were read, one being from Col. Hastings, Factor in the Charikees, dated the 27th April last; the other from William Hatton, Assistant Factor there, dated the 3d Instant, with an Account of the Death of Jury Barker, one of the Assistant Factors, as per Bundle [e] (No. 5).

Adjourned till further Summons.

(by two other Burdeners) two Packs of Skins, which the said Gilcrest informed, was freely given him by the Charikees, as Presents, during the Time he was among them, when sent up by the Government with a Message to Charitee Hagey, and other Head Men of the Nation; which Present he prayed the Board, to allow him the Benefit of;

Ordered that a Report of the above Matter, relating to the Present of Mr. Robert Gilcrest, be made to the House of Commons, in order to have their Directions and Instructions in the Disposal.

Received of Mr. Robt. Gilcrest, sundry Letters, Accounts and other Writings from the Assistant Factors, residing in the Charikees as follows, viz., William Hatton's three Letters dated: One, the 28th July, and 2, the 4th September, 1717, as per Bundle *e* (No. 5), his Journal of Proceedings, from February 6th, 1716/17 to September 3d, 1717, as per Bundle *i* (No. 9); his Accounts for Keywohe' Town Trade, from April 11th to July 19th, 1717. John Sharp's Ditto for Quanase' Trade, from March 24th to August 18th, 1717; George Hill's Ditto for Cowee' Trade, from April 18th to July the 18th, 1717; James Dauge's Ditto for Terrequa and Tunesee from March the 15th to August the 15th, 1717; all as per Bundle *k* (No. 10). John Sharp's two Letters dated September the 15th and 16th, 1717; George Hill's Letter dated August the 27th, 1717; all as per Bundle *e* (No. 5).

The Board having received Information, that John Chester, who was appointed for to take care of the Goods lately sent for the Factory at the Catabaws, upon Indian Burdeners and pack Horses, would not proceed in that Imploy;

Resolved and ordered, that the Clerk of this Board, do send a Letter to John Carew to tarry with the said Goods at Mr. St. Julien's or Ravenel's Plantation, until another Person can be provided, or until further Order from this Board.

Adjourned till tomorrow Morning.

Friday, October 4, 1717

The Board met according to Adjournment.

PRESENT: Ralph Izard, Esq., Col. Jno. Barnwell, and Capt. Jona. Drake.

|199| Read a Letter, which was received per Mr. How, from Capt. Charlesworth Glover, Factor at Savano Town, dated September 27th, 1717, as per Bundle *e* (No. 5).

Ordered, that four of the Indian Burdeners, which arrived from the Charikees, be sent up with Goods, to the Charikee Factory.

Ordered, that the Clerk of this Board, do send by the said Burdeners, a Letter to Capt. William Hatton, Chief Assistant Factor in the Charikees, as follows, viz.;

"By Mr. Robert Gilcrest we received your Journal of Proceedings and "Accounts for Keywohee Trade, and three Letters; one of the 28th July, the "other two of the 15th September; also Mr. Sharp's two Letters of the 15th "and 16th September, and his Accounts for Quanasee Trade; Mr. Hill's Letter "of the 27th August and his Accounts for Cowee' Trade; also Mr. Dauge's

the nominal [Sum] of the [same] in Publick Bills of Credit of this Province, to augment in the intrinsick Value.

Delivered John Sharp an Invoice of the Goods delivered him the 30th October past; Value one hundred ninety-one Pounds, one Shilling and four Pence ½d, as per Invoice Book, Page 23.

Sent per John Sharp, a Letter to William Hatton, Chief Assistant Factor in the Charikees, which was as follows, viz.;

"Capt. William Hatton,

"We received yours dated the 27th September last past, per Mr. Sharp, "of whom we also received the ill News of seven hundred and seventy Skins "being taken from him by the Enemy, which we doubt will discourage the "Charikees from bringing down the noble Parcel of Skins you mention, so "soon as expected. We cannot tell what Proceedings have been by the Vir-"ginians whom we hear did intend to come among the Charikees, but hope "the Assembly which is now sitting, will consider and take care to discourage "and prevent any ill Design they may have to interrupt our Trade; and as "(by your Letter) we have reason to look for your Arrival here daily, thought "it needless to inlarge at present on our former Instructions. We have thought "fit to intrust Mr. John Sharp, with a Sortment of Goods for the Indian "Trade, which is laden upon nineteen Burdeners, to go under his Care and "Charge, and have given him Power and Order to dispose of them (only at "Keywohee |209| Town) separately and independent of any other Matter "relating to your Factory; so that on those Conditions, you are not to be con-"cerned therewith (except in Case of Mortality or Mis-application) but for "and in all other Matters and former Things, you to act still as Chief, accord-"ing to our Instructions heretofore given, untill further Order from us, to "the Contrary; and though you should not see fit to come down now, yet you "may depend your Services shall not be less esteemed or rewarded for your "not being present to solicit. Take Notice to us, in your next Advice, of the "Receipt of our Letter and Goods dispatched hence by six Burdeners, the "7th October Ultimo, and of what other Matters may occur, that relate to "the Publick. We are &c."

Ordered, that John Sharp, do proceed to the Charikees with the Goods for Sale, delivered him the 30th October past, by Thursday next at farthest.

Adjourned to Tuesday next.

Tuesday, April 22, 1718

The Board met according to Adjournment.

Present: Capt. Jona. Drake, Fran. Yonge, Esq., and Mr. Edwd. Brailsford.

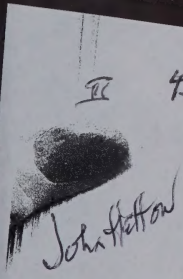
|260| Received sundry Letters, as follows; as per Bundle *e* (No. 5); viz., one from Col. George Chicken, dated the 15th Instant, from Goose Creek; one from Capt. Glover, Factor at Savano Town, dated the 16th Instant; one from Col. Theophilus Hastings, Factor for the Creeks; one from Robert Graham, Assistant Factor for Ditto, and one from Col. John Musgrove, dated each the 17th ultimo, from the Cussitoes; one from Capt. Hatton, Factor in the Charikees, dated the _____ Instant; one from John Sharp, Assistant Factor there, dated the 11th Instant; one from George Hill, Assistant Factor there, dated the 8th Instant, and directed to the Principal Factor.

Received also Capt. William Hatton, Principal Factor aforesaid, his Journal of Occurrences from December the 12th, 1717, to the 5th Current as per Bundle *i* (No. 9); Ditto's Account of what Goods was received in the Charikees of the Quantity sent hence the 3d December last, per one hundred and fifty-nine Burdeners, as per Bundle *k* (No. 10), and Geo. Hill, Assistant Factor aforesaid, his two Abstracts of former Accounts of Trade at Cowee and Quanasee, as per Bundle *k* (No. 10).

Adjourned till tomorrow Morning.

Ordered, that a Cag of Rum be provided and sent up on the pack Horses now bound for the Charikees; and that Capt. Hatton, the Factor there, be ordered to make a Present of the said Rum, as given by the Publick, to Charitey Hagey of Tougeloe Town, in Remembrance of Friendship.

Also unto Mr. Dennis Moore or Order, the Sum of nine Pounds, current Money, for six Bushells Corn, which it appears was delivered to Capt. William Hatton, for some Charikee Indians in the Service of the Trade, in November last past.



Thursday, A.M., the 5th Day of July, 1753

The Cheifs of the Upper and Lower Cherokee Nation attending with out, were admitted to a Conference or Talk with his Excellency in Council, at which Time James Beamer and John Hatton, two Cherokee Traders, being duly sworn to interpret truely every Thing which was to be said by his Excellency to the said Indians, and what they should say to the Governor, when after the Ceremony of shaking Hands and every one seated, his Excellency addressing himself to the Indians, spoke as follows, viz.,

Governor. Friends and Brothers, Yesterday you heard my Talk when I told you that the cheif Thing for which I sent for you was to conclude a Peace with the Creeks. There are other Things proper to be mentioned, but as you have not fully answered that Point, if you have any Thing else to say I am ready to hear you.

I have now in my Hand a Letter from Old Hop of Chote attested by Hatton and Beamer, about a Peace with the Creeks, and who says that before now every Thing was clowdy, but since hearing from the Governor, every Thing is now clear and bright. I perceive at the writting of this [illegible] looking on the Letter) Ustineca and Tasitte of Hywassee were present. I [illegible] remember it, and as probably this is the last Time we shall [illegible] you leave the Town, I desire you will disburthen yourselves conceal Nothing. (Pointing to an Indian) |292| I [illegible] in your Hand-[illegible]

not worth sending to your Excellency. Meanwhile this Fool was giving me his Talk, I told the Linguester to sett on the Wench Nancy about the Emperor's Wife in order to discover what she could out of her whose Intelligence from Women amongst the Indians are always the best. This Nancy got a true and exact Account out of her.

The next Day the Presents were divided by the Warriors and they would give none to the Town of Tellico. The Emperor's Wife cried much and she said that the English had been always kind to her till now. She told her Husband that it was on his Account for being concerned with the French, and he beat her. As the Woman behaved so well I gave her a calico Gown and a Blankett, a Blanket to him, and Shirt to his Son, unknown to the Warriors here which Presents made Matters up betwixt them. The Emperor asked me several Times if I had heard from your Excellency about that French Man he left with you. I told him that I had no Time to look for the Letter, that another Time would do as well. The Presents were issued out to Old Hop and the Little Carpenter, and to some more Warriors; they insisted on having them as they were come for that Purpose. They wanted to distribute them before they went to their Towns representing that all their Men were naked, and in Debt to the Traders, and had met very bad Hunt this Year on account they went late in the Season and could not go far off, having Orders to [be] upon Call. I think 'tis full as well they have been delivered out to them for I never would have Peace nor Quietness to myself, |318| and as it is still I shall be harasshed [enough] about for Presents.

When the Warriors came I had the Regulars under Arms and seven Guns loaded to salute them. Out of the twelve Guns that came last from Keowee there is seven of them that are nailed up. They are come so from Charlestown. I am going to have them drild out immediately. I am in Hopes they had been nailed with harden steal Plucks. It appears already that we got the Indians to another Way of Thinking as I hope the same will appear to your Excellency when they are in Charles Town and by your Excellency's good and prudent Managment with them, there is no Doubt to believe but all will turn to our desired Satisfaction. They are sorry and ashamed for what they have done. The Little Carpenter is a great Man, therefore I have no Occasion to remind them no farther to your Excellency. Judge's Friend is a good Fellow but very proud, and did stay at Home al this Winter on our Account. If the French comes here in the Spring as there is no Doubt of the Contrary I am afraid the Men will not be able to plant this next Season; therefore there must be Provisions provided for them. Corn will be very scarce. Capt. Stuart has provided a small Quantity. I shall do what I can to get any large Quantity, but I know that we never shall get a Sufficiency to serve us except it comes from great Ways off. Monsieur Le Commissary is much wanting. The White People here are millions of Times worse than the Indians. They will be the Ruin of this Nation if proper Measures are not taken by your Excellency and Council and have Laws made on Purpose for them. As Capt. Stuart goes Home I defer that Particular as many others to inform your Excellency with, he being a very fit Person.

On the 18th came an Express from Virginia. One Mr. Allen, a young Man that was [here] at the building of Chelte Fort, the Contents of his Errand I sent a Copy to your Excellency. He gave no particular Account from that Part; he says that Major Lewis was very ill when he came away and told him that he would have wrote, but he did suppose we had all been knocked in the Head or that we were returned back by the bad News he had heard of the Cherokees. The Messenger had Orders not to proceed no further than Keowee if we were returned Home. He says that no Treaty of Peace had been made nor concluded with the Savannahs to the Northward. They are the greatest Enemies they have in those Parts (as well as we have here), [this?] well I did send no Express from here; the back Way through the Woods to Virginia as he calls it, he tell me that one in ten would not arrive safe there, so much Danger there is of being cut of and Letters intercepted.

On the 20th his Dispatches were interpreted to Old Hop, the Little Carpenter and other Warriors in this Fort, 319 and they appointed us to be the next Day at Tomotly for to receive an Answer which Answer I think is very friendly one. Which Coppy I sent also to your Excellency as Coppies of Letters that Judge's Friend has answred to Major Lewis and Mr. McNeil in Virginia. Having this favourable Opportunity I shall not fail writing to Governor Dinwiddie, Copies of said Letters shall be forwarded to your Excellency per first Opportunity having no Time at present to send them per Capt. Stuart.

Your Excellency will be pleased to acquaint me with what has been concluded with the Little Carpenter concerning the buying of those Lands and the building of that small Fort he wants at Tomotly. It seems that Old Hop has drop off sending as he intended to the Chicosaws as I mentioned last to your Excellency being last at Tomotly. The Indians concluded setting out the 23d without fail. They desired to have a Kegg of Rum to drink amongst themselves the Day before they should set out. I gave them an Order on one of the Traders to get one.

Just now the Black Smith has made me a Report of the great Guns. He says that they are nailed with steel hardned Plucks, and has broke two Drills at the Tryal of one. I am going to put the Guns into a large Fire till they are red hot to try to soften the Steel, there being no other Way for it.

This young Man from Virginia came with one of the Indians that went last Wall [*sic*] with Capt. Paris. There was but seven that went. This same Express is soon to be back again. As your Excellency will observe by the Answers of the Indians to the Governor, Capt. Cæsar from Chatuge is now with us, and promises to be very good.

Since my Letter wrote I been informed that the Indians would give none of the Presents to the Town of Chatuge joining that of Tellico. I fear that the same will discourage them much as they are People that are well affected to the English. I think it very necessary that they should have some Presents given them and to let them know that it is none of our Faults if they had none, for which Reason I must order one of the Traders to furnish them with such a Quantity, but shall settle that with Capt. Cæsar before he goes.

search of them in the Afternoon when they had given over Hopes of find or seeing any were returning Home when suddenly they were fired upon fr a Thicket by the path Side, one was killed on the Spot, one taken, and the made their Escape to tell the News. He whom they had taken Prisoner fourth sought after when they were all asleep got off from the Enemy cutting the Slave String with which he was tied, with a sharp, white Flint, but much hurt with running and tying.

This Summer one of the Virginia Traders, Paris by Name, whom I h before mentioned with a young Man Paris, his Hireling, a Negroe Man, and John Hatton's Sister, half breed, had almost been killed in the Great Terequa Path from Canoste. The said Paris with his Company had come from Ste on Tewtewah River and passing my House went to Docharty's where he boug two Cows and Calves. The Day after took his Journey for Great Terec which he was to pass in his Way to Toquo where he resided with a remarkal Indian and a Warriour of Tannassee who had some Days before come o the Hills to Docharty's in order to pay a Debt he owed him. When Paris v come within four or five Miles of the Terequa for Fear least his Cattle wou tire encamped, the Indian who was a little Way behind coming up, said would proceed to the Town it being but a little Way |20| off, and notwithstan ing Paris and the Woman entreated him earnestly to stay and told him the Pa was dangerous, however the Indian would not and not two Miles from whe Paris stayed had his Horse shot under him, and was himself carried off whe no News has been heard of him since, and I belive [ever] will, and Cat though they have been the Death of some Virginia Men in Times past at th Time saved the Life of one with his Company.

There have been but few killed in any of the Middle Settlements a the Lower Towns that I can hear of.

I have made bold with Submission to give your Excellency this tedio Account of these People in relation to their Enemies and if nothing else c be enferred from it, I am sure one Thing may, to wit that they stand mu in need of what Assistance and daily Encouragment South Carolina can gi them to continue their Allegiance and Friendship firm as it certainly is at prese throughout the Nation for the Indians are not powerful Enimies, yet was it to happen they would be found very troublesome ones.

I shall not trouble your Excellency with any Account of the Trade on that it is carryed on in strict Opposition to the late Ordinance, more or less, all, for the less Traders must of necessity follow the Way of the greater or th have no Business here. I humbly beg Pardon for this Trouble and am wi all due Submission and Respect,

Your Excellency's most humble, most obedient, and most obliged Servan

LUD. GRANT

JAMES FRANCIS TO GOVERNOR GLEN

October 7th, 1754

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Sir, I should have wrote sooner co cerning this cruel Murder perpetrated (as I suppose) by a Camp of Fren

lina, for it is not to be doubted when the Over Hills Towns were broke up and gone that the French with those Indians would soon settle these famous back Rivers to which at present these Indians Over the Hills are the only Hindrance and afterwards would in Time drive this Nation to the Settlements or force them to comply which at Present they seem most averse to. However it is to be hoped that the Country will spare no Pains or Expence to enable them to stand their Ground by sending them Ammunition &c. the Want of which they complain of.

Frequent Communication with these Indians both by Word and Writ is a great heartning to them and they look upon your Excellency's Familiarity, Lenity, and good Usage they always have received, very much, and are always talking of it.

Again the 4th Day of the said Month, July, in the Morning, came other Messengers from Chotte, two for this Town Tomatly to the Warriour, and two to the Mankiller of Iwasee. These as they passed my House told me they had a Letter written by the white Men by Order of the Warriours desiring this Valey People to repair over the Hills with all Expedition to their Assistance against a great Body of Enemy who as they were informed were approaching their Towns especially Chottee. Iwassee, Canoste, and Little Telequa should go to Great Terequa, the long-Savanna People, Noewee, Tomatly, Cheawee, Nantarialy to Chote. That the Enemy had killed a beloved Woman in a Canoe by the Town by which they being alarmed pursued them, and took one of them and bringing him to the Town burnt him. He was by his Confession an Over the Lake Indian, and by his Whiteness they supposed him to be a whiteman's Son. Before he was burnt he told those People by a Northward Fellow, the Interpreter, who has lived some Years in this Nation that there was an Army of white and red down the River he mentioned and which he came from. That they were inforting themselves |18| and afterwards designed to come against Chotte and cutt it off because that Town only was always killing their Indians and taking their white Men who were Traders which Report though I belive groundless as I told them, as to the Design to cutt off any Town has occasioned their great Surprize and caused them to send for Help to this Valy.

I told these Indians that it has always been the French and their Indians' Custom in the Spring, for more or less of a Town to join togeather and go into the Woods, and upon some convenient River to settle and infort themselves for the Safety of what Women and Children they should have with them, and from thence to send off what Companies they should think proper to molest the frontiers Towns of this Nation, but that it was very improbable and hardly possible they ever would come in a Body against their Towns, for an Army sufficient for such an Enterprize would not live in the Woods for want of Provision, especially when they should approach near any Town where there were neither Bear, Deer nor Bufflow to be found, and that it was impossible for a Body of Men to come near their out side Towns undiscovered some or other being always in the Day Time a scoutting, and at this Time they had War enough at Home.

The Messengers from the Over Hills Towns brought also a Letter sealed to this Warriour of Tomatly desiring him with all Speed possible to send it to the Fort at Kewohee, and that from thence it should in all Haste be forwarded to your Excellency, and that no white Man should read or see it till it came to Kewohee which when the Warriour told me I said it was some what strange that his Uncle, Old Hopp, should send a Letter to him in whom they all so much confided, and not in the least to acquaint him with the Contents, and desired to see the Superscription thereof which when he brought it, found it was directed to the Commander of the Fort, and not to your Excellency and nothing in it, for I broke it open but a Heap of confused, incoherent Jargon which I suppose your Excellency has received before this.

Old Hopp attributes in it the Occassion of the War to your Excellency in putting and detaining in Prison those Savanahs that on that Account the Savannah Nation had given Belts of Wampam to the Northward Towns in general to come to War against these Cherroekees because they, when in Charles Town, did not procure the Freedom of the Savannahs from your Excellency and send them Home. That he would not write for Ammunition again, because he had been disappointed before (which of itself is a modest Demand and cunning Reproof). However each Trader has promissed them if they shall stand in Need of it one Bag of Powder and two of Bullets to defend them untill they hear from your Excellency, which they very much long for and especially the Warriour of Tomatly who expects with Impatience some Acknowledgment that your Excellency received his Talk.

The Letter was signed with Old Hopp's Mark, and what I have wrote was the chief Contents thereof, and thought proper to acquaint your Excellency least it should miscarry and not come to hand.

|19| Two young Men of Tannasse who were lately out a hunting were surprized in their Canoe by 3 Northward Enemy who fired upon them and missing them the two Cherroekees jumped out of the Canoe into the Swamp with only their Guns and shot Pouches which I suppose lay at Hand. The Enemy not daring to venture into the Swamp seized the Canoe and what Body of Skins &c. that was in her and turning her adrift took the Land. Some Days after a Party of Great Terequa Indians who were out at War coming across the Tract of the three Enemy, and finding a Mush Basket they had taken out of the Canoe, and knowing it to be of Cherroekee make, supposed that they had killed some Woman in her House and pursuing the Tract came up with them, killed one, took another, and the third run of and got clear. The Fellow they catched they brought Home to Great Terequa and burnt him there. This happened about the 12th July.

Twelve of the Northward Enemy lately came upon Iwasee River near [illegible] and in a Plantation killed a Cherroekee Man and carryed off a [illegible]man, and being hotly persued the Enemy killed the Woman about [illegible] from Iwassee, and left a considerable Booty of Beads and [illegible] the Pursuers found the Woman dead proceeded no further [illegible] what they had got.

[illegible]ive or six Men of Canoste went over to Great Terequa to [illegible]e Enemy about the Town, and being one Day out in

That Night or soon after they were come to Starnekers, there were thirty of the Catabaws who had been at War to the Northward and being so far returned homewards, took up Camp in the adjacent Neighbourhood in order to get some Provisions from the Inhabitants of the Place and to procure which sent a young Man of their Company ignorantly to a House near to Paris's Gaurd, who so soon as the Northward Fellows who were with the Cherroekees heard of an Indian and a Catawbaw they rushed into the House where the Catabaw was sitting and seizing and tieing him brought him off. As I before mentioned there were thirty of the Catabaws and had taken three Slaves and killed two on the Spot, and there being but nine Northward with Paris, they thot without Delay of making the best of their Way homewards and for Fear of being pursued by the Catabaws which doubtless they were the fourth Day came to Setticoe which was an unaccountable Haste. The Northward Fellow that first laid Hands on the Catabaw and for that Reason claimed him as his sole Property lives in Setticoe, and there he first intended to carry the Slave, which when the Little Carpenter, the Great Warriour, and several other Headmen heard they went and with stern and angry Countenances, cut the Slave's String with a Knife, and stamped upon the rattling Callabash they had given the Slave in his Hand to sing to, and told the nine Northward if they wanted to go to their Country they might when they pleased, that they were not affraid of them or their Nation nor the French, but they should carry none of their Friends as Slaves, so these Warriours above mentioned brought the Catabaw Home to them, and as in such Cases there Manner is, washed, painted, and new cloathed him, and intends to send him Home with a Gaurd to his own People as soon as he can walk, his Feet being much swollen by running.

It is now a general War between this Nation and the Northward Indians, especially those belonging to the French, some of whom were in this Nation early this past Spring, and as they said were sent from their Nation for some of these Overhills People with the Little Carpenter to go to their Nation in Company with them to confirm a Peace with them and other Nations; the Little Carpenter when they came first into Chottee was out at War, for which Reason most of them declined staying till he should come Home, and leaving an old Fellow whom they called a Warriour to accompany the Little Carpenter when he should come in from War, the rest returned Home. The old Fellow whom the Northward had left finding but small Encouragment for in those of the Cherroekees who had been at War and had brought in French Prisoners wanted much to be gone, and getting his Clearance from Old Hopp and his Council made the best of his Way homewards, fearing I suppose worse might befal him.

The Peace betwixt this Nation and the Creeks is unanimously confirmed by mutual Presents and amicable and free Intercourse |16| with each other; Companies of the Creeks have been in this Nation this Summer and several Creeks have been and are gone to the Southward. I am informed that over the Hills are gone by Way of the Chickesaws in order to assist them and the Creeks against the Chactaws with whom the Creeks are now also at War. However it may be thought the French who pretend an Interest in both Nations will do what they can to hinder that War to continue for unless it be a Piece of their Policy to hinder the Chactaws from falling to the English which that Nation

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Re Wm. Hatton - get clean page

"come to your Hand from Savano Town, by Water, on Account of the Trade, "provided you can readily get them drest and remitted to us, and that you "find the same will be gainfull to the Publick. We likewise impower and "authorize you, as Opportunity presents, to trade and deal with the Indians "at Port-Royall, for Skins, Furs, &c. on Account of the Publick; to maintain "which Trade, we shall be ready to supply you with such Merchandize as is "proper, so soon as have your Advice in the same. It's our Resolution to "prosecute those Persons you mention, who have clandestinely traded with "the Indians at Port-Royall: on Condition you can assist us with any Proof, "or more circumstancial Evidence, upon the Information; for want of which, "it will be to no Purpose to proceed; and we must therefore be obliged to "you for what Discovery you can obtain, as we in the mean Time shall dili-"gently inquire thereinto. We have considered the Complaint against Calli-"haun, and find it not within our Power to redress such Offences: all Persons "being free to deal with the Indians, which reside constantly in the Settle-"ments, for any Thing whatsoever, except Furs, Skins and Slaves; but however, "we will lay open his Crime to the Governour and desire his Vindication of "the Indians &c."

Ordered that Francis Yonge, Esq. be and he is hereby desired to remonstrate to the Honourable the Governour, the Complaint mentioned against Daniel Callihaun, in Relation to the Tuscorora Indians (so called) in the Letter received from Col. John Barnwell, the 17th Instant.

Mr. Edwd. Brailsford reported that he had sold and delivered to Mr. Walter Lougher, the 17th Instant, the raw Deer Skins then received from Savano Town, viz.; six hundred and thirty (best) at three shillings and nine Pence a Peece, and one hundred and twenty-four (ordinary) at one Shilling and ten Pence ½d a Peece; to be paid in Goods on Demand, at prime thereof in England, with seventy-five per Cent advance thereon.

Ordered that Thomas Barton pay out of the publick Monies in his Hands, [illegible]int of the Indian Trade, unto Col. Alexander Mackey, or Order, in [illegible]e Salary due to George Hill, Assistant Factor in the Charikees, the [illegible]irty-two Pounds, ten Shillings, current Money, deducting at the [illegible] two Pounds, ten Shillings |244| out of the said Sum for a striped [illegible]nket, supplied the said Mackey with, at the Charikees, by Capt. [illegible]ton, out of the Goods belonging to the Publick, on Account of the [illegible] and that the said Hill's Account be charged for the said Sum [illegible] Pounds, ten Shillings, according to his Request.

[illegible] Mackey tendered a Bill drawn on this Board by Robert [illegible]mber the 27th past, praying that the said Mackey might [illegible]gs per Month, out of his Wages, for his Service in the [illegible] it being for extraordinary Services to the Publick, of [illegible]o Man (named Timboe, who was imployed in the [illegible] the Pack-Horses, as to serve as Interpreter) which [illegible]resaid Mackey, out of his own monthly Pay, over [illegible]rd, for the said Negro Man's Hire; on Condition [illegible]ance should not be paid by the Publick.

Referred the above Matter, relating to Col. Mackey's Negro Man, until further Consideration.

Ordered, that Thomas Barton, pay unto Edmd. Maxwell, or Order, the Sum of ten Pounds, in Full of his Demands for the Care he took of the Publick's Skins brought down in the Periaugoe from Savano Town, the seventeenth Instant.

Ordered, that the Clerk attending this Board, do give Advice by a Letter to Capt. Glover, Factor at Savano Town, of the Receipt of the Skins, last brought down from thence in the Periaugoe.

Resolved and ordered, that Samuell Stanwood, Carpenter, be allowed and paid the Sum of three Pounds per Month, Wages, for his Labour (on Condition, he do proceed in the Periaugoe with Capt. James How to the Congarees) to build the Trading Houses, intended at the Congarees, by Direction of Capt. How.

Col. Alexander Mackey, being present, was asked for two Horses, belonging to the Publick; which Col. Hastings delivered him at the Charikees (being purchased with some of the Goods adventured by the Assembly in March 1715/16) as per his Receipt dated September the 8th, 1716, in Bundle *g* (No. 7), to which the said Mackey answered, that one of the aforesaid Horses was by him left among the Charikees; and the other, which formerly did belong to (Long) Jones, was returned to the said Jones.

Ordered, that Inquiry be made, to discover and take up the above-mentioned two Horses; the Latter of which (as it appears to this Board) was returned to the former Owner, notwithstanding he was purchased of the Indians, with Goods belonging to the |245| Publick; and moreover though the Publick is liable and have ordered Payment for the Horses lost in their Service.

Adjourned to the 30th Instant.

Thursday, January 30, 1717/18

The Board met according to Adjournment.

PRESENT: Capt. Jona. Drake, Col. Jno. Fenwicke, and Mr. Edw. Brailsford.

Received a Letter dated the 24th Instant from Meredith Hughes, Factor at Wineau, as per Bundle *e* (No. 5).

Ordered that the above-mentioned Letter be sent up to the Honourable the Governour, inclosed in the following Lines from this Board, viz.;
"May it please your Honour,

"Last Night we received the inclosed Letter from Meredith Hughes, our "Factor at Wineau. We apprehend the Consequence thereof, worth your "Honour's Observation. The Charraw Indians have often insulted our said "Factor, and still persist in their Villainy, and grow more dangerous, as appears "per the inclosed; what Mischief they may intend to execute at their next "Return, we hope you'l find Means to prevent. We pray your Directions "and Commands in that Behalf, as soon as possible, for we shall meet tomor-

E 78 S6 S61

Documents Relating to Indian Affairs vol III pg 240

William J MacDonald, Jr, Ed.

Colonial SC – SC Con. Archives Dept – (1958)

also Minutes of the Cherokee Council, Williamsburg VA. Sept 5 to 1735 (DP vol II DP II p 458)

(Telling about trader Richard Pearis's half-breed Indian wife, daughter of trader Hatton. His devotion to "his woman" was sufficient that he had risked his life several times to go to her.

Pearis Richard letter from
Pearis p 18-9
Pearis 15, 16, 20, 42, 133, 202 also VA Archives
" George 97 98-9
Pearis Captain 201, 283

Hatton, John 108, 157, 162, 164, 188, 197, 405, 447,
letter to 409 sister of 20

also see Cherokee Treaty, Interpreters

also 469-70 (Pappe)

5? Aug 1756 Capt Raymond Demere to Gov Lyttelton

kind to them; I inclose your Excellency a Letter I received from the Serjeant commanding the Party.

Maurice Morris affirms that there is no Savannah Indians in any of these Towns, except two or three, which he says he believes has been there [sometime].

I am satisfied that the Reason of Old Hop's sending me such News about the Savannahs and other Indians, our Enemies, being about them was [only] to hurry us up there, for they are very uneasy at our Stay.

The Little Carpenter and Old Hop has sent me Word verbally by Maurice, [to] proceed up immediately, and says that if we don't come soon they shall be [laughed] at, and looked on as Lyars by their young Men and Warriours to [whom] they have affirmed that we were in our Way up. Maurice Morris likewise affirms that there is a Party of young Men returned from War and [that] they have brought in with them three Chickesaw Scalps and about 80 [Deer] Skins which they took from the deceased which is all the War Exploits [that] he heard of there. This inhuman Action, as those two Nations are [at] Peace, if not negotiated soon may prove of bad Consequence to the Cherrockees, for the Chickesaws are a martial People and have often signalized themselves in War and given Proofs of their good Courage and though but a few of them were always a Terror to the Cherockees. He says that the Virginians at Chottee have built their Fort and that Old Hop and [the] Little Carpenter desired him to tell me that the Carolinaans had [promised] to build them a Fort for many Years past and they could see [nothing] done to it, but that the Virginians, from whom they received the like [Promise], but the other Day had finished them a Fort already notwithstanding [the] Carolina Men have a broad Path from Charles Town to the very Place and |186| the Virginians are for the most Part of the Way obliged to come through the Woods and in small intricate Paths.

Maurice says that they have certain Information at Chottee that there is 200 of the Savannah Indians on Holston's River. That they have fortified themselves near Samuel Stalnaker's Plantation in order to intercept and cutt off the Virginians on their Return and that Major Lewis having received Intelligence of their Design is preparing himself to attack them with a Party of his own Men and a Body of Cherockee Warriours that has promised to go with him and that it was expected that Major Lewis would march in about a Fortnight's Time from this Date. Maurice Morris informs me that there is not more than 20 Head of Cattle to be found over the Hills. I inclose to your Excellency a Letter I received from Clayton on that Subject.

29 1756

I am informed that Col. Chevillette has purchased a Stock of Cattle here from Mr. Elliott. I am doubtful there will be but a poor Account of them, as they are all wild and scattered about the Woods. John Hatton, the Man employed to keep them, has declared to [me] that it is impossible for him to get them together, and he has intirely neglected looking after them for some Time, so that there is not [one] of the Quantity at Command.

I am informed that a Party of Virginians that came to work at their Fort are returning back to Virginia and that they [are] coming this Way for their

(Pgs 182-3 end separately)

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THE SWALLOW WARRIOUR TO CAPTAIN RAYMOND DEMERE

September 5th, 1756

This Day James Beamer Trader of the Town of Eastitoa waited on Capt. Demere in Fort Prince George. He brought with him the Head Warriour of that Town by Name the Swallow Warrior, who informed Captain Demere of the following Particulars in the Presence of Capt. John Stuart, Capt. John Postell, John Chevillette, Esq., and Lieut. Robert Wall.

James Beamer and John Hatton, Linguisters.

He says that a Fellow called the Thigh who was formerly a Prisoner of the Savannahs and lived sometime among them and speaks the Savannah Language very well has lately brought in News to the Cherockees to join the Savannahs. He says that the Thigh has brought with him from the Nuntueyaws a Belt of Wampum which was given them from Chota a long Time ago and that it is now sent to the Headmen of Chotee from the Nuntueyaws to signify their Willingness to make a Peace and that they expect on the Sight thereof the Cherockees will immediately join them.

He says that the French Indians met in a very numerous Council at the Savannahs Town consisting of all the Headmen and Warriours of the following Towns (viz.)

|222| The Squaghkeaws, Nuntueyaws, Twichtweyaws, Yankesheyaws, Savannahs, Tau'wees, Yawghtenous, Cowghkeyaws who all agreed and consented to send the Belt of Wampum aforesaid.

He says that Old [Hop?] has sent for the People in the Middle Settlements to go to War but that they did not go to Hop. He says that there is a Party of the Cherockees shortly designed for Charles Town and another Party is going to Virginia. He says that Old Hop has sent ten Men to the Nations above mentioned to confirm a Peace with them, and that there is a Party from Great Tellico going to the French to confirm a Peace with them. He says that all the Headmen of the Cherockees have been informed of this and have desired that the same may be kept secret from all the White People.

CAPTAIN RAYMOND DEMERE TO GOVERNOR LYTTELTON

|188| Fort Prince George, Keowee, Aug. 21st, 1756

Sir, Since my last to your Excellency bearing Date the 11th Instant Wawhatchey, the Headman of the Lower Towns, waited on me and brought with him John Hatton for a Linguister. He acquainted me that sometime past a Party of young Warriours from the Middle Settlements went out to War and took three Prisoners of the Savannah or Shawannoe Indians; that on their Return they were pursued and overtaken by the Enemy who retook the Prisoners and also one of the Cherockee Warriours, whom they carried off, the rest of the Cherockees returned home and it was expected that the Prisoner taken by the Savannahs was killed but on the 12th Instant he returned to his own Town from Chottee. And reports that he was carried by the Savannahs within Sight of their Town where he was stopped till all the Savannah Warriours came out to him and beat him in a most unmercyful Manner one after another. That after this he was brought into the Town, with a Rope about his Neck and a Council was held to put him to Death, but after a very long Talk he was acquitted and set at Liberty. That the next Day he was brought before the Headmen and Warriours of the Town who appeared all well cloathed. That the Warriours made a Contribution and gave him large Presents of Shirts and other Cloaths and told him that those Cloaths was given him for to satisfye him for their beating him the Day before, that now he was paid for the same and that they should look upon him as one of their own People. That the Headmen being all assembled, asked him why he and all the Cherockees went so naked, and told him to look at their People and see what large Presents of good Cloaths and other Things they had from their Brothers the French and asked him if it would not be much better for the Cherockees to join them and be Brothers with the French and partake of those large good Presents, then to live in the Manner they did in Friendship with the English who would never supply them in the Manner the French would. And that the English was a going to build Forts in their Nation which as soon as they had done they would begin to kill and destroy their Headmen and Warriours and make Slaves of their Wives and Children, and that they would see it when it was too late, and that now was the Time to put a Stop to it. He says that he was sent by the Headmen of the Savannahs who told him to return home and acquaint the People of Chottee with what he had seen and to give this Talk to them. Also to tell them that they should in a short Time dispatch a Body of their Warriours |189| against the Cherockee Nation and was also determined to kill all the White People that was there and all they could meet with. And that if the Cherockees was inclinable to come into their Measures that they must immediately send a Messenger to meet them for they would not stay for an Answer but should set out in a few Days after him and if the

201 Demere to Lyttelton Sept 1756 (excerpt)

Major Lewis and Captain Parris arrived here the 11th Instant and it appears that he will get but few Indians to go to Virginia with him. I desired him to inform me with every Particular that he knew of relating to the present State of Affairs at Chottee and the other Overhill Towns as also the Behaviour and Proceedings of Old Hopp and the Little Carpenter, which he gave me the next Day. I send the same inclosed to your Excellency. The Fort he built at Chottee is left quite abandoned. I fear it will soon be taken Possession of by our Enemies if not prevented in Time by garrisoning it ourselves at least with a Serjeant and twelve Men till the Virginians send People for that Purpose or till your Excellency's Approbation is known. Here is now in this Nation two Partys, one for the French and the other for us, and lett it be supposed that I should get the better of them again, as I hope I shall, I do not know how they can recall what they have already done having sent so many Messengers to the French. It is said that the French Letter I send inclosed was directed to some of their Prisoners which were in this Nation particularly to one Jean who was at Chottee who on the Receipt of the Letter was dispatched to the Halbama Fort with a young Cherockee Wench that speaks the Savannah Tongue. It is expected by his carrying this Wench with him that [he] has a private Message also to Peter Shurttee who is at the Head of a Party of Savannahs that [are] settled some where about the Halbama Fort. This same Fellow who commonly goes by the Name of French John I mentioned in one of my Letters to your Excellency from Ninety Six without Doubt he will inform the French of the Fort so that I think there ought to be some Measures taken immediately.

I have heard that the Little Carpenter does not sett out till I arrive at Chottee. I long much to be there on several particular Reasons although my State of Health is but very indifferent at Present. Major Lewis has brought back the Ammunition he received from me. He went away this Day and left Parris behind to distribute the same to those Indians that are to go to Virginia; agreeable to your Excellency's Orders I leave a Serjeant and 15 Private Men at this Fort. Our Men begins to be sickly. I am with Respect Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

Rayd. Demere

over

405 - Extract Journal of Lt Hatton 2 July 1757

On the 19th Instant I set out from Fort Loudoun with Capts. Steward [*sic*], Postell, and Ensign Lloyd, accompanied with the Little Carpenter and Villenawa, with an Intent to come by the new Road, which was proposed some Time ago by the former to avoid coming by Tellico. We crossed Tellisay River and went up about two Miles the Town, where we encamped that Night. Several Indians of that Town waited soon on us, and were to go with us the next Morning in order to show and clear the new Road before us, for which Trouble they were to have some Rum. They desired they might have it that same Evening to be merry, that they would be with us pretty early the next Morning in order to proceed on our Journey. They all went to the Town together, they got drunk, and were sickly. The next Morning they were very indifferent for going, for Excuse, saying that the Road would be very bushy &c. On that I resolved immediately to repass again the same River of Tellasy and to proceed over the 24 Mountains. When I came on the other Side, I heard that an Express from Virginia with Jno. Hatton of Keowee had passed by for Fort Loudoun. On that I dispatched one of my Servants to the Commanding Officer to know what that |80| Express came about. The Little Carpenter and Villenawau returned Home. They dispatched an Indian Fellow of Tellasy Town with a white Wing to go with us as far as Keowee, as a Token of Peace. On the next Day the Man which I had dispatched to Fort Loudoun overtook me and brought me the inclosed Letter, which is concerning Mr. Atkins having confined some Northward and Cherokee Indians which prove to be the very same that went some Time ago from Chota, which recommended their Families to me before they went.

I wish the same may not cause some Alteration in the Upper Towns. One ought not to be too rash with the Indians; proper Measures and Rules of Mod-

July 1757
John Hatton of Keowee

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ROBERT WALL TO JOHN HATTON

Creek Nation, June 1st, 1757

To Mr. Jno. Hatton at Keowee
from Robt. Wall[4]

Dear Jack, I am now in my Way to Charles Town under Guard by Orders of our Agent, as is Jno. Brown. I was taken up upon Suspicion of going to the French Fort which was far from my Intentions. I intreat you to acquaint Nancy of the great Trouble I am in and also beg that you and she may use all the Interest you possibly can with some of the principal Indians and engage them to petition the Governor to release me and also to apply to Capt. Demere to write for me. Loose not a Moment's Time in the Prosecution of my Desires and Requests for God's Sake, and I will make you ample Amends for your Trouble.

If Nancy will come down herself with 15 or 20 principal Indians, I will take care to satisfy them for the same. My dear Jack, manage this Affair in the best Manner you can and with the utmost Dispatch and Secresy. I beg you may forward the Letter directed to Capt. Demere by a Runner; I will pay you the Charge. A Complaint is come here that I stole Tistoa's Jacket and Saddle. The Saddle I borrowed of Nancy and the Jacket you gave me. Tell that I am in great Troubles and Uneasinesses, for God's Sake, my dear Jack, do whatever you can for me and you shall be well rewarded for the same by your very sincere Friend,

R. Wall

Burn this Letter as soon as you read it and let no Person see it whatever.

Nancy Ward?

TALK OF CHEROKEE HEAD MEN TO CAPTAIN DEMERE

|205| On the 28th of August, 1756, Wawhatchey, Tiftoa, Wolf, Old Chuckle and several other Principal Indians gave Captain Raymond Demere the following Talk (viz.)

Present: Capt. John Stewart, Capt. John Postell, Lieutenant Thomas Goldsmith and Lieutenant Robert Wall.

Ambrous Davis, Linguster.

The Wolf. Old Hopp is to have a Meeting Tomorrow. He has sent this String of White Wampum to me to assure me that the Path from him to his Brother in Charles Town is as white and as clear as the Wampum is and that I must give this Talk to the Head Warriour of Keowee and signifye the same to him.

Old Hopp says that he looks on every thing that has been told him about the Carolina Warriours coming up, to be Nothing but Lies for that when he goes to Bed he expects to be alarmed by Capt. Demere's Guns or to see him in the Morning but contrary to his Expectation he wanders about the whole Day and can't see him. This Talk comes from Old Hopp to me and he desires me to acquaint Capt. Demere he is uneasy at his Stay at Keowee and has stopped all the Warriors from going to Virginia or else where, till Capt. Demere and all his Warriours gets up. He says that his Brother at Keowee will hear this Talk and that he expects he will remember the same and that in six Nights he hears shall expect him to sett off with all his Warriours and proceed up immediately. If a Messenger had brought this Talk to me I should not have believed it but as it is sent in Wampum from Old Hopp, I am sure it is true and if Captain Demere is not sett out from here in six Days Old Hopp desires him not to sett out till the Warriours from Chottee arrive at Keowee for they are to sett out in six Days to go to Charles Town unless the Warriours of Keowee arrive before or are on their March up.

Capt. Demere's Answer to the Wolf. It has given me much Uneasyness that I could not go up before, but I have been obliged to wait here for the Troops that are now come. I shall make all the possible Haste I can to proceed up to Chottee and I have received such Orders from your good Brother the Governor, but in such a short Time as he mentions, I cannot possibly sett out, but I do propose 8 Days hence to sett out with all the Troops &c., having already dispatched Letters per Elliott to the Middle Settlements to be furnished with Horses &c.

RAYD. DEMERE

TALK OF THE WOLF AND TIFTOA TO CAPTAIN RAYMOND DEMERE

|206| Fort Prince George, August 30th, 1756

The Wolf and Tiftoa, two principall Men of Keowee, delivered the following Talk in Presence of Captain John Steuart, Lieutenant Thomas Goldsmith and Lieut. Robert Wall to Capt. Rayd. Demere

John Hatton, Linguister.

The Wolf says that a Party of the Cherockees met with a Party of the Chickesaws out a hunting who informed them, that there was four white Men went to the Nation of the Creeks and went as usuall to the Headmen of that Nation to shake Hands with them, but the Creeks refused to do it and said that their Hearts was not good towards them, upon which the white Men immediately made their Escape and went down to Savannah Town.

He says that two Chickesaws are to follow the rest and to acquaint them if any thing happens. He says that a Trader was going from Savannah Town to the Chickesaws with Goods &c., but the Chickesaws advised him not to go, but he stil persisted that he would go let what would happen and it is expected that a Party of the Creeks are gone with him to guard him against the Creeks &c.

RAYD. DEMERE

GOVERNOR LYTTELTON TO THE LOWER SHAWANESE

TO THE SACHEMS AND WARRIOURS OF THE BRAVE NATION OF THE LOWER SHAWANESE, THE GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA WISHES HEALTH AND PROSPERITY.

It is with the greatest Satisfaction I acquaint you that a Treaty of Peace and Friendship has lately been concluded by Sir Wm. Johnson, the much beloved Man and valiant Warriour of the great King of England, with the Kings of the Shawanese and Delawar Indians at Wayoning and Iarga in the Presence of the Deputies of the Six Nations. By this Treaty the Covenant Chain that so long remained sound and entire between them and their Brethren the English is again renewed and strengthened and I trust it will remain bright and unsullied as long as the Rivers shall run and the Sun and Moon endure. They have accepted the War Belt. They have sung the War Song and have solemnly engaged to take up the Hatchet against the French and all their Adherents by whom they acknowledge they have been deluded and are heartily sorry for it. As I have heard much of the Fame of your gallant Exploits in War, I have sent thus far to invite you to follow the Example of these your Brethren, and to become as they are one People with the English and Children of the same gracious King and Father who will powerfully protect you |207| against all your Enemies and give you signal Tokens of his Love. As a Mark of the Esteem in which I hold you and to confirm the Truth of my Words I herewith send you a Belt of Wampum.

Given under my Hand and Seal of Arms this 10th Day of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six.

WM. HENRY LYTTELTON

GOVERNOR LYTTELTON TO THE CREEK INDIANS

Charles Town, 16th September, 1756

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, I have just received Intelligence that three Men of your Nation were lately killed by a Party of those White People who are

the command of David Robinson who followed orders to divide the men into two companies to range around the fort "to inure the soldiers to Fatigue." Preston had written neighbors about attending a council of war and according to David Robinson the letters had been "suppressed or miscarried" so he informed them of the proposed council but they would not attend. Memories of summer massacres and fear of prowling parties of Indians kept people close to their cabins.

David Robinson's humor always bubbled close to the surface and after informing Preston of serious matters he told him, "Mr. Stringham has returned from Fort Washington once more, and now assumes to himself the title of Captain, however we have metamorphosed him into a common soldier, until you return."

The Cherokees Dinwiddie had asked to remain on the New and Holston during the winter visited Preston's fort. So many of them appeared that Robinson had to send for a fresh supply of beef. He mentioned that one "Great Warrior" had made a "very pertinent speech" and the rangers had "endeavoured to pay them all Deference imaginable." Though Robinson does not give the name of the "Great Warrior" he was Antossity Usteneeka or Outacite, which means literally, "Great Warrior," just as Robinson said.*[6]

There were eighty-two Cherokees in the company led into the New River Valley by trader Richard Pearis who was greatly respected by the Cherokees because he "would not tell a lie." All messages sent to them were directed to Pearis who had a wife in their villages, the half-breed daughter of trader Hatton. His devotion to "his woman" was sufficient that he risked his life several times to go to her.[7]

Dinwiddie had promised that the Cherokees would be well-treated and so Preston bought rum for them from David Cloyd and Richard Hall. He also bought three dozen pipes and "an extraordinary fine tomahawk for a Cherokee warrior" probably after he had failed to show them any attention or invite them to his fort.[8] This angered Pearis and David Robinson explained to him that considering Preston's "circumstances" it was impossible for him to do either.[9]

The "circumstances" were Preston's ranging about the country in October searching not for Indians but for votes. The Assembly at Williamsburg had ordered a special election held in Augusta to fill the vacancy left by Patton's death and Preston had decided to bid for it.

The election was held at Augusta Court House on December 17. Wagers were loud and noisy in the courtyard. Joseph Lapsely, Richard Woods and David Cloyd, loudly advertized their candidate,

*Outacite is also Oustenaike, Judge's Friend or Judd's Friend.

Chapter IV

The Sandy Creek Expedition

"Hunger and want was so much increased that any man in the camp would have ventured his life for a supper."

Captain William Preston
Journal of the Sandy Creek Expedition
Entry for March 13, 1756

On February 9 Preston began his march from Fort Prince George near present Salem, Virginia, accompanied by 25 men, 2 corporals, 2 sergeants and lieutenants David Robinson and Audley Paul.[1] Bringing along 200 pounds of lead sent to Fort Preston from Williamsburg and 2000 pounds of dried beef they headed toward the North Fork of the Roanoke River. Camping the night at Francis Cyphers, the next day the company climbed the Allegheny ridge that lay between them and New River. They spent the night at Richard Hall's five miles west of present Christiansburg, Virginia, where Preston had recently bought rum for the Cherokees.[2] Richard Hall had lived here since before 1750 when he had been visited by explorer Christopher Gist upon his return trip from exploring the Ohio country. Hall had been one of the westernmost settlers in 1750.[3] In the years following Gist's visit many families had come to the New River Valley but the Indian raids of the previous summer had caused most of the survivors to flee east of the Blue Ridge or to the Valley of Virginia. Some would return to their New River land but some like Augustine Price would never return. When Price was eighty and still living in Rockingham County he testified how he had been driven by the Indians from the New River in 1755.[4]

Preston's company marched on past deserted plantations to join the Cherokees with Richard Pearis and Outacite at Fort Frederick. Pearis and the Cherokees had been ranging the mountains during the winter. One mountain immediately north of Blacksburg bears the name Pearis Mountain and is the only reminder we have today of the service to Virginia rendered by the Cherokees in the winter of 1755-56.

As Preston's men marched past the Cherokees now encamped at

ander Cumming for his behavior to them. After which many useful presents were made and the congress ended to the great satisfaction of both parties. The crown was brought from Tenassee, their chief town, which, with five eagle tails and four scalps of their enemies, Moytoy presented to Sir Alexander, requesting him, on his arrival at Britain to lay them at his Majesty's feet. But Sir Alexander proposed to Moytoy that he should depute some of the Cherokee chiefs to accompany him to England, there to do homage in person to the great king. Accordingly, six of them agreed, and accompanied Sir Alexander to Charles Town, where, being joined by another, they embarked for England in the man-of-war Fox, and arrived at Dover in June, 1730.

"We shall not pretend to describe their behavior at the sight of London," says Hewat, "or their wonder and astonishment at the greatness of the city, the number of the people and the splendor of the army and court. Being admitted into the presence of the king, in the name of their nation they promised to continue forever his Majesty's faithful and obedient subjects. A treaty was accordingly drawn up and signed by Alured Popple, secretary to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations on one side, and by the marks of the six chiefs on the other."

The preamble to the treaty recites the preliminaries taken in Carolina, and the six chiefs, in behalf of their nation, renew their pledges of friendship and alliance with the English and his Majesty, adding that the chain of friendship between King George and the Cherokees "is now like the sun, which shines both in Britain and also upon the great mountains where they live, and equally warms the hearts of Indians and Englishmen; that as there is no spot or blackness in the sun, so neither is there any rust or foulness on this chain. And as the king had fastened one end to his breast, he desired them to carry the other end of the chain and fasten it to the breast of Moytoy of Telliquo and to the breasts of all their wise men, their captains and people, never more to be weak, loose or broken."

Coming to more practical matters, it was agreed that the king's children in Carolina should trade with the Indians, "and furnish them with all manner of goods they wanted, and to make haste to build houses and plant corn from Charles Town toward the Cherokees behind the great mountains." The Cherokees agreed, on their part, that they would trade with no people but the English, and report to their governor any attempts of other white people to build forts, plant corn, or otherwise occupy the land of Carolina. And "if any negroes shall run away into the woods from their English masters, the Cherokees shall endeavor to apprehend them and bring them to the plantation from which they run away, or to the governor; and for every slave so apprehended, or brought back, the Indian that brings him shall receive a gun and a watch-coat; and if by any accident it shall happen that an Englishman shall kill a Cherokee, the king or chief of the nation shall first complain to the English governor, and the man who did the harm shall be punished by the English laws as if he had killed an Englishman, and, in like manner, if an Indian happens to kill an Englishman, the Indian shall be delivered up to the governor, to be punished by the same English laws as if he were an Englishman."

This was the substance of the first treaty between the king and the Cherokees, every article of which was accompanied with presents of different kinds, such as cloth, guns, shot, vermilion, flints, hatchets and knives. As a further token of friendship and alliance, the king sent the warriors a belt, which he desired them to keep and pass down

HISTORY

OF

SOUTH CAROLINA

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YATES SNOWDEN, LL. D.

In collaboration with

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who had fled from the province, but had even encouraged slaves to desert their masters and take asylum in St. Augustine. The Spanish deputies replied that they would deliver all felons, but the slaves were another matter. The king had given them orders to pay for the runaway slaves, but as possible converts to the Catholic faith it was claimed, with characteristic hypocrisy, that they could not be turned back to their former masters to be held in bondage. It was common knowledge that the Spaniards held their Christian slaves in bondage; and, moreover, the question had been settled in the British domains, both by the government and the church, to the effect that slaves were personal property and their spiritual condition had no relation to that matter. Thus Mr. Middleton informed the Spanish deputies, and the meeting was adjourned without any definite accomplishment.

As the fort on the Altamaha was a far southern outpost, isolated and especially subject to attack from the Yamassees, its garrison had from the first been dissatisfied and finally reached almost a state of rebellion. Soon after it had been established, in June, 1723, the able and popular Col. John Barnwell, had died, and this fact had tended to loosen discipline. The latter had been succeeded by William Palmer, a young man who had already signally distinguished himself in the Yamassee war, and who, assuming the other important duties formerly assigned to Colonel Barnwell, was also placed in charge of the defence of the southern frontier.

In January, 1726, soon after the negotiations at Charles Town between the Spanish deputies and the South Carolina authorities had come to naught, the fort on the Altamaha was burned. In view of the mutinous spirit of the garrison, and, especially, since twelve of its number had actually deserted to St. Augustine—these facts coupled with the general knowledge that the Spaniards wished, above all things which could occur in that part of the country, the removal of that very fort, gave the event quite a sinister appearance and quite in keeping with the Spanish reputation for deceit and intrigue. But a special agent subsequently sent from England to investigate the circumstances could find no proof of any criminal origin of the fire. On the contrary, the probabilities pointed to the likelihood that as the poverty of the public treasury had prevented a decent maintenance of the lonesome frontier post, and a fire happened to break out, the garrison was luke warm as to whether or not the flames were stayed. Well, Fort King George was burned to the ground, and what was left of the small independent company originally raised to garrison it was stationed at Port Royal.

Palmer's Campaign in Florida

The undefined frontier, again quite unprotected, was an invitation to murder and slave-capture to which the Yamassees were not slow to respond. White men were scalped and killed and slaves carried off to St. Augustine, but the people of South Carolina were compensated for neither outrage, great or small. Finally these depredations became unbearable, and Col. William Palmer was appointed by Mr. Middleton as commander-in-chief of any forces which might be organized to march against the Indians and put a stop to them. That young and intrepid campaigner at once organized a body of about three hundred militia and friendly Indians, and carried the war to the very gates of St. Augustine.

Hewat, in his "History of South Carolina," is authority for the statements that Colonel Palmer compelled the inhabitants of Florida's capital to take refuge in their castle, having spread desolation through their province. Scarcely a house or a hut escaped the flames. He destroyed their provisions in the fields and drove off their cattle, hogs and horses. Some Indians he killed and others he made prisoners. In short, he left the people of Florida little property except what was protected by the guns of their fort, and by this expedition convinced the Spaniards of their weakness and the danger of encouraging Indians to molest the subjects of Britain. He showed the Spaniards that the Carolinians, if provoked to retaliate, could prevent the cultivation and settlement of their province and render their improvement of it impracticable on any other than peaceable terms with their neighbors.

The closing days of the Middleton administration were marked by an event most dissimilar to the destructive campaign which Palmer waged against the enemy Indians and whites of Spanish Florida. The southern frontier was quieted, but the country to the west and southwest threatened by the Creeks and the Cherokees, under the influence of the French, was in a state of constant apprehension. These American rivals were extending their control up the Mobile River and they had already won over the Upper Creeks, whose hunting grounds extended to Fort Alabama, and through that tribe the French were gradually obtaining the alliance of the more distant and powerful Cherokees. To checkmate their moves, which were designed to organize these tribes and others with whom they were friendly against the English, the Carolinians employed Capt. Tobias Fitch among the Creeks and Col. George Chicken among the Cherokees. These agents had been busily engaged in fulfilling their mission and preparing the way for a principal, who should have the authority and ability to secure a better understanding between the royal government of the province and its most powerful Indian enemies, the Cherokees.

Therefore, near the end of the Middleton government, after Robert Johnson had been selected to inaugurate the first regular royal administration, Sir Alexander Cumming was sent out as a commissioner to conclude a treaty of peace and alliance with that warlike people. The account of his endeavors and success, which were concluded in the British realm across the water, has been given with graphic detail by Alexander Hewat in his "Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia," and all narratives covering these matters which have been subsequently published have drawn from his publication as their main source of information.

About the beginning of the year 1730, Sir Alexander arrived in Carolina and made preparations for his journey to the distant hills. He procured some Indian traders as guides; also an interpreter, who understood the Cherokee language. When he reached Keowee, about 300 miles from Charles Town, he met the chiefs of the lower towns, and thence dispatched messengers to other portions of the Cherokee territory summoning a general conference at Nequassee.

In April, 1730, the chief warriors of the nation assembled at that place, and Sir Alexander Cumming introduced himself as the representative of King George who had come from afar to demand of Moytoy and all the Cherokee leaders obedience to his good and powerful sovereign. The chiefs fell on their knees and promised. By their unanimous consent, Sir Alexander then nominated Moytoy commander-in-chief of the Cherokee nation, and enjoined all the warriors of the different tribes to acknowledge him for their king, to whom they were to be accountable for their conduct. To this they all agreed, provided Moytoy should be made answerable to Sir Alex-

of his being killed. This Day I go in Pursuit of them, with what Men I can raise about till I gett further Instructions from your Excellency what to do further. And am your Excellency's most obedient and humble Servant.

MOSSES THOMSON

[P. S.] They burried the Man before they let me know of it. If I had gott Word before he was buried, I would have an ____uitition [inquisition?] held on his Corps. I have not given out the [Ammunition] Please to let me know if I will give it out.

A LIST OF THE LICENSED CREEK TRADERS |150|

1750		
May 21st	Robert Tool	Catawbas
Do.	John McCord	Cherokees
26	Robert Gowdy	Do.
Do.	John Kelly	Do.
	Bryan Sallamon	Do.
28	Anthony Lantague	Do.
June 11	Richd. Smith	Do.
18	James Baldridge	Do.
21	Peter Randon	Creeks, Uchees, Veupehas, Chisquetooloosasa in the Forks of the Lower Creeks
26	George McKay	Do., Woosates, Okemulgees, Kichetees and Chihaws, Do.
	Samuel Elsnear	Do., Cussaters and Wasees, Do.
	Ephraim Alexander	Do., Cooser, Tooloofer and Cheewalless, Do.
July 5	Stephen Forest	Do., The same Towns which Peter Random
20	Nichs. Chinery	Breed Camp
	Isaac Barksdale	Creeks, Okefuskees and Soocauspogas, Upper Creeks
26	Samuel Benn	Cherokees
	Alexa. McQueen	Creeks, Pallactrowlas, Oconys, and Swagler Old Town
	Walter Rode	Do., Refally's and Swaglers in the Lower Creeks
Aug. 4	Abraham Smith	Cherokees
	James May	Do.
	Robert Emory	Do.
	David McDonald	Do.
	John Hatton	Do.
	James Beamer	Do.
	Thomas Beamer	Do.
	Willm. Bates	Do.
	John Hook	Do.

90			
	Borderidge		60
25			
70	T. Beamer	90 & 25	115
20	Huges	70 & 20	90
30	Hatton	40 & 30	70
2063			2068

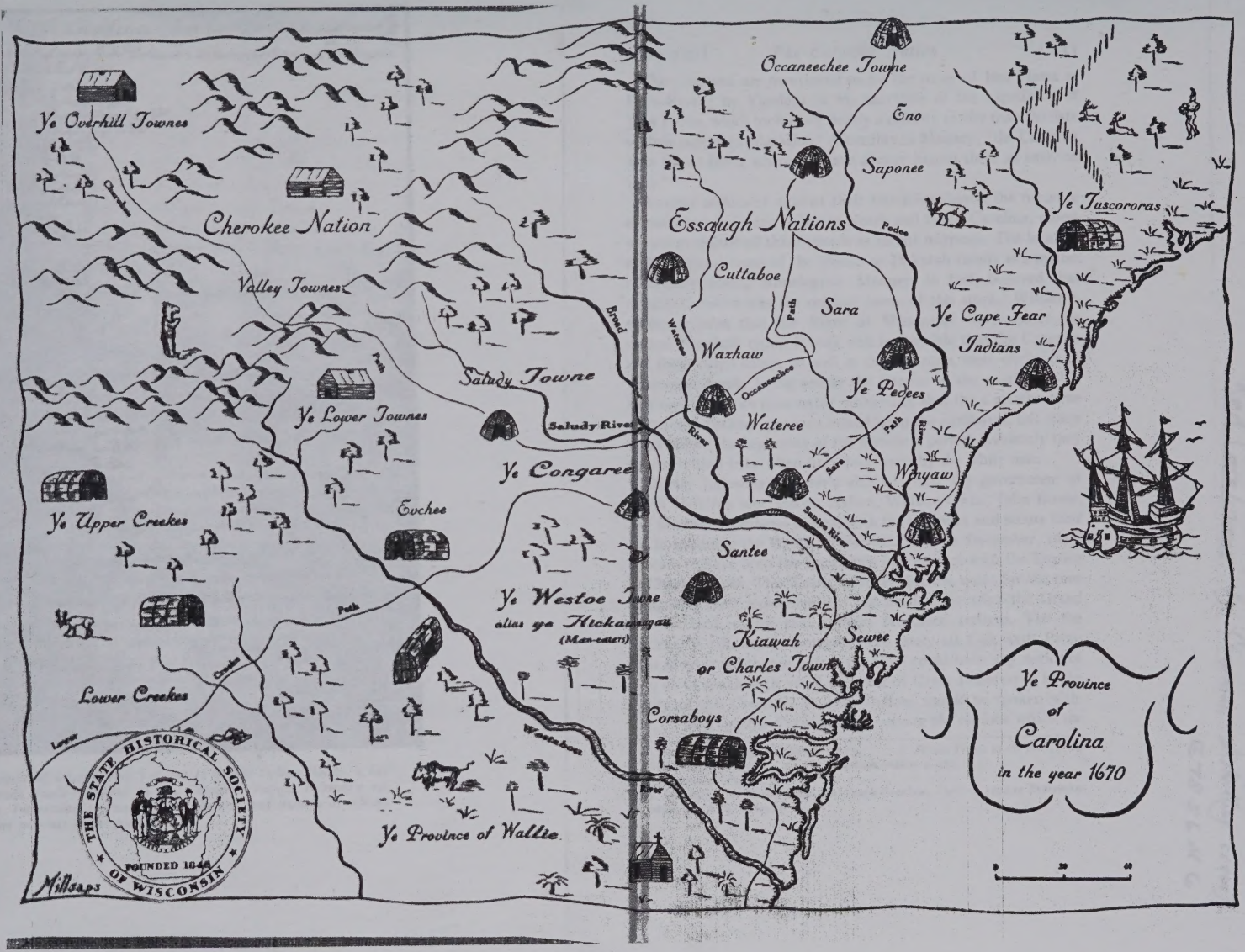
CORNELIUS DOCHARTY AND LUD. GRANT TO GOVERNOR GLEN

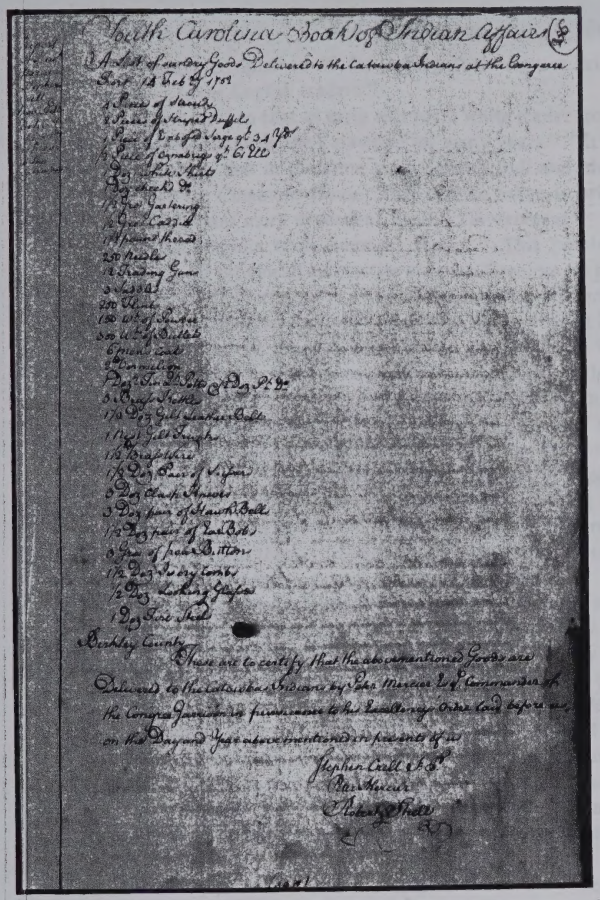
10th	Joseph Wright	Creeks,	Tallaneys, Tuckahatches, Outtaesew, Swaglerhatche and Nofawssee
	John S[p]encer	Do.,	Little Savanah House opposite to the Mucklasees L[ittle?] Ockechoy's, Cahalea over the Cosaw River and Uchees, Sogoh____e, and Chewassa
	Lac[hlan?] McGuilvery	Do.,	O-Okechoys, Wacocoys, Puckental, ____ers [?], ____ estookee Old Town on the Coosaw River and Hateakee
|151|	John Eycott	Creeks,	Fooshatches, Chewallees, Callumees, Little Okefustees, Little Coosaws, Conhatkee and the Savanoes
27	Patrict Brown	Do.,	Kileegees, Hillebees, Refally's, Muchlasees, Chowasees and Tasawsa or the Village and Chulacogee or Black Drink Old Town.
Sept. 3	Daniel Clark	Do.,	Coosaws, Abecoos and Shavanœs on the Key Mulgoe Creek between the Cassaws and Breed
5	John Buckles	Chickesaws and Chactaws	
March 2	John Rae	Creeks, Cowetas and Weetomkees	
1751	Isaac Barksdale	Do.	
April 6	John Coller	Do.,	Coosaw, Tooloosaw and Cheewalees
17	Robert Steel	Cuttawbas	
June 4	Stephen Forrest	Creeks	
	Patrick Brown	Do.	
July 27	Lauch. McGuilvery	Do.	
	John Spencer	Do.	
Aug. 2	Timy. Millham	Do.	
	Alex. McQueen	Do.	
	George McKoy	Do.	
	Saml. Elshanner	Do.	

CAPTAIN BOND TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Christ Church, September 26th, 1751

SIR, Having received Advice that a Number of armed Indians were in the Parish and that they had acted in an hostile Manner, I did pursuant to your


Ye Overhill Townes
Cherokee Nation
Valley Townes
Ye Lower Townes
Ye Upper Creekes
Lower Creekes
Euchee
Saludy Towne
Saludy River
Ye Congaree
Ye Westoe Towne
alias ye Hickarnugau
(Man-eaters)
Ye Province of Wallie
Occaneechee Towne
Eno
Saponee
Essaugh Nations
Cuttaboe
Sara
Waxhaw
Occaneechee
Wateree
Ye Pedees
Ye Tuscororas
Ye Cape Fear
Indians
Wenyaw
Santee
Santee River
Kiawah
or Charles Town
Sewee
Corsaboys
Ye Province
of
Carolina
in the year 1670
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
FOUNDED 1846
Millsaps


South Carolina Book of Indian Affairs

A List of Country Goods Delivered to the Catawba Indians at the Congaree Fort 14 Feb.y 1752

4 Pieces of Duffils
4 Pieces of Striped Duffils
1 Piece of Red Strouds 2 1/4 Yds
1 Piece of Cinnabrig 2 1/4 Yds
Laced Hatts
Plain Hatts
Gold Laceing
Silver Laceing
Scarlet
Painted Thread
250 Needles
1 Trading Gunn
3 Guns
200 Flints
150 lb.s of Powder
600 lb.s of Shott
6 Hand Saws
6 Tomahawks
Doz.a Tin Pints & Doz.a Qts
6 Brass Kettles
170 Doz.a Gilt Sleeve Buttons
1 Doz.a Gilt Laughs
12 Brass Thimbles
18 Doz.a Pairs of Scissors
6 Doz.a Clasp Knives
3 Doz.a pair of Hawks Bells
1 1/2 Doz.a pair of Sleigh Bells
6 Doz.a of Jews Harps
1 1/2 Doz.a Tin Looking Glasses
1 Doz.a Looking Glasses
1 Doz.a Tree Shells

Berkley County

These are to certify that the above mentioned Goods are Delivered to the Catawba Indians by the Messrs.s Commissioners of the Congree Fort to be Returned to the Publick Store Keepers on the Days and Year above mentioned in presence of us

Stephen Croft J.P.
Jas. Mercer
Richd. Shutes

Facsimile of a page from Volume II of the Indian Books, a list of trade goods delivered to the Catawba Nation, February 14, 1752. Interesting as exemplifying the size and quality of official Indian presents of the period

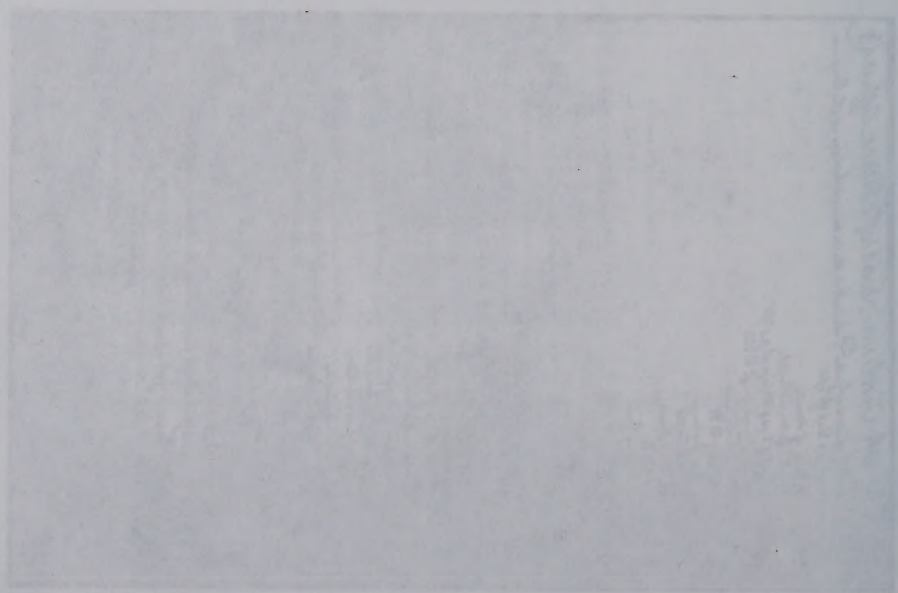
The Catawba are mentioned under the name of Issa [Iswa or Eswa-River] by Vandera in his narrative of the expedition of Juan Pardo, which took place nearly a century earlier than the date of their supposed migration.[5] According to Mooney, "the Catawba were found living where we have always known them as early as 1567."[6]

Another argument against their late migration is the presence of confederate Siouan tribes in North and South Carolina, unless we are to regard all these people as recent migrants. The location of the original home of the Siouan or Dakotah family is a matter of dispute among ethnologists. Mooney, in fact, believed that eastern Carolina was the original home of this stock.[7] Wissler is of the opinion that the Biloxi of Mississippi were nearer the central linguistic type.[8] It may well be possible that the Catawba and their allied tribes, as well as the Dakotah, were offshoots of a common family living nearer the interior of the continent. We may conclude with reasonable probability that the Catawba came from some distance, perhaps indeed from the northwest, but many years before the beginning of the historical period. Evidently they were a settled tribe when first discovered by the white man.

Shortly following Lederer's visit of 1670, the government of South Carolina sent Joseph Dalton, William Owen, John Boone, and Maurice Matthews to treat with the Catawba and secure their aid in subduing the Westo.[9] This visit, made in December, 1673, appears to have been the Catawba's first contact with the English of Charles Town. The Westo, however, became quiet for the time being and their assistance was not needed. In 1692 the Grand Council took notice that "divers Northern Indians, Viz^{t} the Esawes, Waxhawes & Congeres were lately att Coll And^{r} Persivalls & returned thence before the Gov^{r} could have any notice of it so as to speak with y^{m} & itt being of Great Importance to the Safety of this Countrey y^{t} those Indians should be spoken with. . . ."[10] In 1693 the Catawba were among the nations which the

5. Mooney, in Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 214. 6. *Siouan Tribes of the East*, p. 69.
7. In Hodge, p. 213. 8. *The American Indian*, p. 322.
9. *Shaftesbury Papers*, p. 428.
10. *Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina, April 11, 1692 to September 26, 1692*, ed., A. S. Salley, p. 53.

Red Carolinians by Chapman J. Milling (1940)
E78 S6 M6



Cherokee complained of for selling their captive tribesmen as slaves to the English traders.[11]

We have seen that as early as 1701 a white trader from Virginia had resided among the Catawba "for many years." [12] It is interesting to note that in the same year Colonel Bull and Mr. Fenwick moved the Commons House "that care be taken to bring the Essanes Indians more dependent on this Government by discouraging the Virginia trade amongst them." [13] This problem was to trouble the provincial authorities of South Carolina for many years to come. We learn that in 1717 "Virginians have interrupted our commerce with the Catawbas and other Indians to the Northward by under-selling goods to them." [14] In 1718 Eleazar Wiggan reported "that the Indians in general do complain of this Government because of its not supplying them sufficiently with goods, and expecting them to carry burdens which is the cause of their losing many men; whereas on the contrary they praise the Virginians for bringing them great quantities of goods and that upon pack-horses, and selling to them cheaper than we do, and carrying home their effects upon their horses, which gives the Indians no trouble at all in dealing with them." [15] Similar complaints occur throughout the colonial documents for more than half a century.

In 1701 Lawson found the Catawba apparently on friendly terms with the Savannah,[16] but within a decade they had fallen out, and the Indian Commissioners found it necessary to arrange a meeting between the headmen of both nations.[17] In 1712, during the Tuscarora trouble, Governor Craven asked the Assembly to send agents "to our Northern Indians, the Esaws and Wacksaws &ca to assure them of our protection & that we will take the best methods we can to keep them from the insults of their Enemies and encourage them to plant good quantities of Corn to supply our forces in case we shall have occasion to send any of them that way." [18]

Their part in the first and second Tuscarora expeditions has been narrated in the preceding chapter. They cannot be praised

11. J. C. H. A., January 14, 1693. 12. Lawson, p. 43.
13. J. C. H. A., I, 229 (293 in original). 14. Indian Book, I, Pt. 2, 189.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 264–265. 16. P. 42. 17. Indian Book, I, Pt. 1, 17.
18. J. C. H. A., IV, 8 (369 in original).

as very responsible allies under Barnwell, but they redeemed themselves during Moore's campaign.

The outbreak of the Yamassee War found them partners in the conspiracy to destroy the English settlements, but they soon repented and helped bring their dependent tribes into submission.[19] Their ranks were immediately increased by the incorporation of the remaining Congaree, and even a few Yamassee, together with remnants of most, if not all, of the smaller Siouan nations. At the same time a few irreconcilable Catawba warriors left the tribe, twelve of them being reported living at St. Augustine in 1719.[20]

As early as April, 1716, formal peace had been declared between South Carolina and the Catawba Nation, one of the conditions being that the Catawba punish the Cheraw, who remained hostile.[21]

In May, 1717, "the Catawba Chief King" visited Charles Town to inquire into the rumor spread among his people by the white renegade, Young Kelly. While we do not know the exact nature of this fabrication, it must have created great excitement in the nation. All the towns began mobilizing their warriors and building forts for defense. From the King's statement before the Indian Commissioners we learn that at this time they numbered seven hundred gunmen.[22] This relatively large force must have included all the incorporated remnants, as the Catawba proper had had only five hundred and seventy men prior to the war.[23]

Eleazar Wiggan, who was instrumental in quieting their fears, reported that the Cherokee had sent a painted stick to the Catawba Nation to notify them of a proposed attack upon the Creeks.[24] In June of the same year two white men who had been in the Creek Nation brought news that the Seneca and Mohawk were preparing to join the Muskogee in a war to the death against the Cherokee and Catawba, and that the "French Indians" (Shawnee, Delaware, and Miami) were probably partners in the proposed plan.[25] Apparently, however, serious war was averted, though a few small

19. S. C. Records, B. P. R. O., VI, 241–242. 20. *Ibid.*, VIII, 7.
21. *Ibid.*, VI, 241. The amnesty included the nations "bordering on ye Sea Shore to ye Northward." The reference is thus presumptive evidence that at least a part of the supposedly extinct Sewee survived the catastrophe.
22. Indian Book, I, Pt. 2, 153. 23. S. C. Records, B. P. R. O., VII, 238–239.
24. Indian Book, I, Pt. 2, 153. 25. S. C. Records, B. P. R. O., VII, 49–50.

raids may have occurred. But these old enemies, forced for a time into a protective alliance, could not remain at peace for long. In November, 1724, we find that "the Cattabas and Charokees are gangeling, for in the summer one of their people [Cherokee] killed a Charraw Man and the Cattawbaws came here and demanded Satisfaction & about twenty days ago, the Cattawbas and Charraws took a Woman of the Charokees Prisoner, but she made her escape from them and got home again, upon which they threaten Revenge upon one another." [26]

In 1727 a party of Oneida killed a number of women and children in a Catawba village while their men were away. Fleeing toward their homes with several prisoners, they were overtaken in Virginia by the pursuing Catawba. A severe battle took place which lasted for two days and resulted in victory for the Southern tribe, who killed and wounded fifty-seven of the enemy and took a number of prisoners. The Virginia authorities attempted to recover the Iroquois captives to prevent the Six Nations from exterminating the Catawba, but neither side would agree to arbitration.[27] This episode no doubt contributed to the ill feeling between the Catawba and the North Carolina Tuscarora, who were in close alliance with their brothers of the Six Nations.

In 1732 Governor Robert Johnson noted that the Catawba had been at war with the Tuscarora "for a long time." [28] Feeling had not been good, in fact, since the Tuscarora War. The North Carolina tribe had for years been making small but frequent raids, often accompanied by their friends, the Seneca. In the spring of 1731 a party of strange Indians invaded the low country near Georgetown, stealing slaves and cattle from Messrs. Mishoe,

26. *Ibid.*, XI, 277–278. William Hatton to the Governor. Hatton was evidently an advocate of the wise and humane policy of promoting peace among friendly Indian nations. Governor Robert Johnson openly espoused the destructive policy in the following words: "It is always the maxim of our Govermt upon the Continent to promote war between Indians of different Nations with whom we trade and are at Peace with ourselves, for in that consists our safety."—S. C. Records, B. P. R. O., XVI, 3. It is to the glory of Governor James Glen that he bent all his energies toward alliance and mutual good feeling among the friendly tribes.

27. J. M. Lesesne, "The Catawba Indians" (Thesis MS), p. 63; Peter Wraxall, *An Abridgement of Indian Affairs*, pp. 177–179; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VIII, 11–14.

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28. S. C. Records, B. P. R. O., XVI, 3.

Pawley, and other planters. William Waties, the old Winyah factor, followed their tracks up the path straight into the Tuscarora settlements. He at once called a parley of the chiefs, at which the Governor of North Carolina was present. The Tuscarora bitterly denied their guilt, imputing all the mischief to the Seneca. It was true, they admitted, that several years ago they had promised not to come into the white settlements of South Carolina, but the Catawba had entered their country the previous fall and had slain one of their chiefs at the head of New River, besides wounding another man. Soon afterwards a party of Seneca had come through their towns on their way to fight the Catawba. Joining these warriors they had traveled until they found the tracks of their enemies, which had led into the white settlements. Coming down the banks of the Waccamaw, "They found a small Fort with some Indians between Santee and Winyaw Rivers at a White Man's Plantation and in the night they went up to the Fort and fired in, but could not tell if they killed anyone or not, and so returned directly." Waties replied that "it was true what they said about the Fort, but that they had been at a Plantation at Black River also, and there, in a very rude way, took some shirts that were in wash and put them on and also carried away some cloth and that they had killed Cattle in 2 or 3 places now as well as formerly, that they could have no pretence of War with our Neighbour Indians but because they came against them in the North Carolina War. . . ." [29]

The above affair was, of course, but a single episode in the perpetual war between the Catawba and the Tuscarora. As in the case of similar raids by the Shawnee and other enemy tribes, the white people frequently suffered as well as their Catawba friends.

About 1738 the great epidemic of smallpox reached the Catawba villages, decimating their people as it did the Cherokee. From the remarks of Lawson it is to be inferred that they had already suffered at least one attack of this disease, probably before the beginning of the eighteenth century.[30] But if they had previously endured its ravages, they had learned no worthwhile lesson from the experience—their treatment remained the same.[31] Adair estimated

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–22. 30. Pp. 10–11. 31. Schoolcraft, III, 295.

that it reduced the Cherokee population by one half within a year; [32] there is no reason to doubt that it played equal havoc among the Catawba. At any rate their warriors numbered but four hundred in 1743, this figure including all the incorporated tribes.[33]

In 1739 a war party of Catawba and Cheraw, probably on the warpath against the Seneca, murdered a white family in Virginia. The chiefs investigated the affair and put five of the ringleaders to death. A delegation of eleven headmen of the two tribes then hastened to Charles Town to assure the governor of their loyalty.[34]

James Glen, upon his appointment to the governorship of South Carolina, at once took an active interest in Indian affairs, wisely realizing the necessity of a firm friendship with the several nations. By uniting the friendly tribes, visiting their towns, entertaining their chiefs, and making a show of force when necessary, he cemented the alliance of the Red Men and discouraged the ever watchful French.[35] Though much of his effort was taken up with the powerful Creek, Cherokee, and Choctaw nations, he did not neglect the numerically smaller Chickasaw and Catawba. The latter he described repeatedly as "the bravest fellows on the continent of America." [36] The proximity of their towns to one another enabled them to mobilize their entire fighting force within two hours, an advantage unparalleled among more extensive nations.[37]

At first Glen did not find the Catawba in the best disposition toward the province, although they had resisted repeated attempts of the French to seduce them. He therefore bent every effort to secure not only their nominal alliance but their active good will. How well the Governor succeeded is best told from his own reports to the Lords of Trade.

32. P. 232.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 224. The author attributed their decline to intemperance as well as to smallpox.

34. *South Carolina Gazette*, June 30–July 7, 1739.

35. S. C. Records, B. P. R. O., XXII, 149–155; XXIII, 74–78, 171–172; XXIV, 129–130, 407–416; XXV, 130, 324–326. See also Council Journal, J. C. H. A., and files of the *South Carolina Gazette*.

36. S. C. Records, B. P. R. O., XXIII, 74; XXV, 324; Carroll, *Historical Collections*, II, 243. Adair agrees.—P. 224.

37. S. C. Records, B. P. R. O., XXV, 324.

"Their King, whose name was the Young Warrior,[38] was in every respect the greatest man that their nation had produced, and wch is unusual with Indians, was very absolute among his People.[39] I therefore concluded that gaining and fixing him was a necessary measure. He was a pretty wild Spark, and he and some of his Headmen had ravished some of the Dutch Women in our new Townships.[40] These irregularities struck the people there with Terrour, and threatened much confusion in these out Parts, and the less his concern was how his behaviour was relished by us, the more I thought it incumbent on me to endeavour to reclaim him. I found he was extremely vain, and therefore upon his first visit to me, which happened to be when the Cherokees were also coming to Charles Town, I took care that they should be received with greater ceremony and be treated with more state than usual. They were met upon the Road and conducted to Town by two or three Troops of Horse, well armed and uniformly cloathed; the Streets through which they were to pass were lin'd by the Charles Town Regiments of Militia, they were saluted by the Cannon from the Curtain Line and volleys of Small Arms. The two Kings were carried to the Council Chamber in my Coach, attended by the Treasurer and Commissary and other officers, where I received them and their Headmen in the Presence of His Majesty's Council, the Assembly and most of the Persons of Distinction in the Place; and besides the Presents made them by the Public, I also made them some, which, though of no great value, were very acceptable to them, such as jackets lac'd with Silver, fine Powder Flasks and Snuff boxes &ca. I made several entertainments for them and their Headmen at Public Houses at my expense. At taking their leave they thanked me for the great Respect and civilitys that had been shown to them and their reception and entertainment had been much greater than they expected." [41]

38. His Indian name appears to have been Yanabe Yalangway.—Gregg, p. 11.

39. In agreement with statements of Lederer and Lawson regarding the power of Wateree and Santee chiefs.

40. A young Catawba was arrested in February, 1742, charged with raping a white woman in Saxa-Gotha Township. Mr. George Haig, the agent, after explaining to the Indians the seriousness of this crime, secured the Governor's pardon for the offender.—Council Journal, VIII, 98–99.

41. S. C. Records, B. P. R. O., XXIV, 407–409.

PEARIS FAMILY (Insert pg 48a)

The Long Island of the Holston: Sacred Island of the Cherokee Nation by Muriel M. C. Spoden (CO/CHV 976.893 H25) Salt Lake City

The Sacred Island of the Cherokee Nation

Chief Stalking Turkey (1762 visited King George III in London)

The Long Island of the Holston, located in modern Kingsport, Sullivan County, Tennessee, extends four miles down the Holston River[1] and averages a half mile wide. The first inhabitants of the island were nomadic Indians who valued it because, surrounded by water, it was a large, safe place abounding with game. To these ancient Indians, rivers had spiritual meaning because they flowed to Paradise in the Great Sea. Islands in the large rivers were held as sacred places of rest and refuge. The sacredness of the Long Island of the Holston was handed down to the Cherokee Indians from their ancestors' remotest beginnings through stories told by their Myth-Keepers.

At the dawn of historical reference, the Long Island was a treasured possession of the Cherokee Nation ruled by their "Emperor" Moytoy by 1730. White men had arrived from across the sea and traded with the Cherokees for their copious supply of animal pelts.

In 1673 the first known white men, James Needham and Gabriel Arthur, passed by the Long Island on their mission to establish trade relations between Virginia and the Cherokees. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that white men set foot on the Long Island. In 1748, Dr. Thomas Walker of the Loyal Land Company of Virginia explored the land opposite the Long Island. In 1750, he returned to seek out prospective land for settlement. In the three succeeding years a number of surveyors and traders of pelts visited the island. By 1751 several of these men had built cabins on the island itself to facilitate their trade with the Cherokees.

At this time the vicinity of the Long Island was considered to be within the sea-to-sea charter of Virginia. In 1750 the first land granted to white men was located in this section of what was to become Tennessee. The grants were issued by the Virginia Colony to Colonel James Patton, some of which were assigned to Edmund Pendleton. The Pendleton grant amounted to more than four thousand acres extending deep into the wilderness to within a mile of the Long Island.[2] Edmund Pendleton was one of the greatest men of his era. He served as President of Virginia's Revoluntionary War Committee of Safety and directed the war operations in the Long Island area from 1775 through 1779. Pendleton's high character and conspicious abilities were devoted throughout his long life to the problems of his fellow citizens.

By 1754 the Long Island contained the log cabins of a number of traders who were trusted by the Cherokees, among them were Nathaniel Gist, Thomas Price and Richard Pearis. Pearis, in partnership with Thomas Price, was possibly the first white resident of the island. He arrived by 1751 and lived there intermittently for many years. In July, 1754 Pearis asked Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia for a land grant

for the Long Island, to which Dinwiddie replied, "I have no objection to you having it if it is not already taken up, but you must go through the Forms of Office here, as it is not in my Power to grant any Lands but consistent and agreeable to law and His Majesty's orders. I have no objection to your People's trading with the Cherokees after obtaining a license."[3]

In 1756 Virginia attempted to establish a trading post or "factory" on the Long Island. Five trustees were appointed by Virginia and £5000 was voted to underwrite the project but the goods which were ordered from Great Britain were so long delayed that the venture failed.

During the French and Indian War the Cherokees were closely allied with the British, and Fort Loudoun, the first British fort erected on Tennessee soil, was constructed by South Carolina provincial troops to protect the Cherokees from the French influence and to insure the Carolina Indian trade. By 1760, however, the amicable relations of the British and the Cherokees strained to the breaking point due to a series of Cherokee murders by white men. Powerful Cherokee chiefs, Connecorte, Oconostota, Attacullaculla and Ostenaco kept the peace and demanded punishment for these outrages. When their attempts proved fruitless, the Cherokees sought reprisals which reached extreme brutality. They massacred the Fort Loudoun garrison during the winter of 1760 and destroyed the fort. South Carolina appealed to Virginia for aid in bringing the Cherokees to the peace table, and Long Island was chosen as the launching point for the campaign.

Colonel William Byrd III was the first commander of the large expedition but resigned complaining that six hundred men was insufficient for such a perilous operation. Colonel Adam Stephen, a most competent man, was then assigned the command. He immediately appointed Major Andrew Lewis to supervise the construction of a wagon road from present-day Chilhowie, Virginia to the Long Island of the Holston. On July 16, 1761 Mayor Lewis and three companies began cutting the road through the primeval forest. This is the oldest road in Tennessee, and as a western frontier road was preceded only by the road which General Braddock built to western Pennsylvania in 1754 and 1755.

The Island Road was completed in September and Stephen's militia soon marched down it to a spot opposite the eastern end of the Long Island. Here they erected Fort Robinson, the second British fort built on Tennessee soil. The fort was "situated on a beautiful level, and was built up on a large plan, with proper bastions, and walls thick enough to stop the force of a small cannon shot. The gates were spiked with large nails, so that the wood was all covered."[4] Cannons were mounted on its bastions and within the enclosure were houses used for storing food and arms. The six hundred Virginians in the fort were soon joined by four hundred North Carolina troops under the command of Colonel Hugh Waddell. This imposing force stood poised to march against the Cherokees, but the Indians wisely decided to treat for peace.

Four hundred Cherokees arrived at the Long Island where they made camp in November, 1761. Chief Standing Turkey sent a speech to the British in which the chief expressed his sorrow for the war and vowed, "the Hatchett that has been so long at War is now buried under the ground, never to be seen by the English again."[5] Thus hostilities with the Cherokees ceased, and the Long Island of the Holston was witness to peace for almost fifteen years.

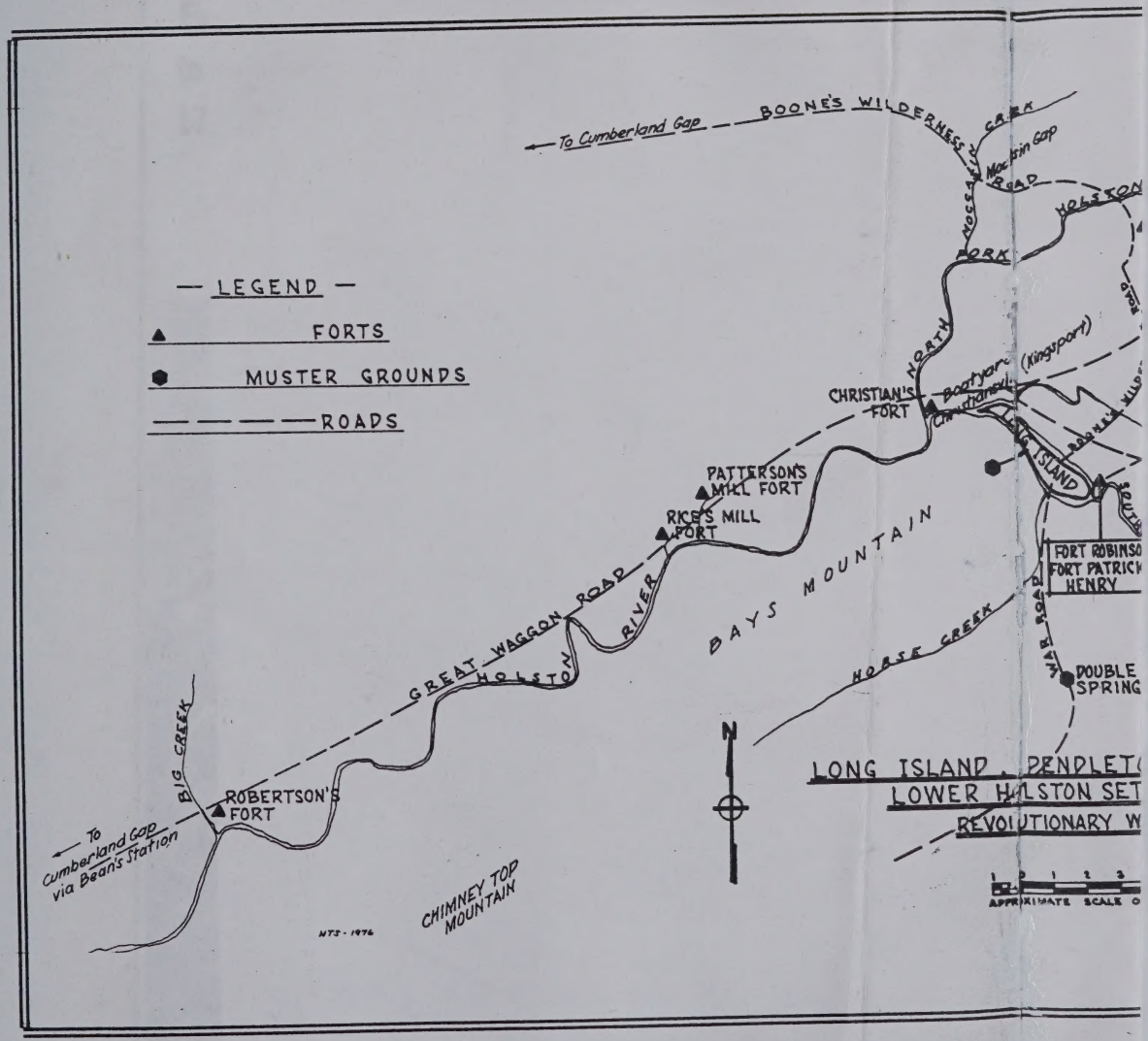
After this Fort Robinson Treaty was concluded, Colonel Waddell's regiment returned to North Carolina and all but one company of Virginia's regiment were mustered out of service. Captain John McNeill's company stayed for a short time to garrison the fort. The beauty and fertility of the Holston Valley in this region induced some of the soldiers to remain and build a small settlement. These early settlers were John Sawyer, John Anderson, Robert Christian, William Anderson, John McNair, Nathan Page and Gilbert Christian. During the winter of 1761-2 they built cabins and made numerous improvements on Reedy Creek, about a mile above its junction with the Holston River opposite the Long Island. Early in 1762 they planted corn, and had they remained they would have been the first permanent settlers on Tennessee soil. By late summer of 1762, they discovered, much to their disappointment, that their settlement was within Edmund Pendleton's land grant and they were obliged to abandon their claims and return to the Valley of Virginia.

Gilbert Christian, however, was determined to one day return. He returned to explore the lower Holston region in the autumn of 1762 and again in 1769.

From ancient times the Long Island was a stopping place on the Great Indian Warrior Path, the major pathway to the Southwest, which later became the Great Stage Road. With the restoration of peace on the frontier and the convenience of the Island Road, the Long Island became a favorite spot for trading with the Cherokees, especially since the Indians had been reduced to a state of extreme distress by the late war and were consequently in a poor bargaining position which enabled the traders to gain handsome profits. The Long Island was also a frequent stopping place for traders on their way to the Cherokees' Overhill Towns along the Little Tennessee and Hiwasse rivers.

The Long Island served as a "jumping off point" for travelers immigrating west. The defeat of France and Spain by Britain in 1763 opened up the Natchez district in the Mississippi Valley for British settlement. By 1765 pioneer wagons lumbered over the Island Road to the Long Island where the emigrants stayed for a time, cleared a bit of land and planted corn. They then built boats and after harvesting their corn crop, continued their journey by river to Natchez.

In 1766 Virginia revived its plan of ~~1765~~ 1756 for a "factory," fortified with a stockade, to be built on Long Island, and appointed "trustees to supervise its affairs."[6] David Ross was sent to the Overhill Towns to gain the Cherokees' consent. The Indians refused, however, claiming to fear that northern Indians or even their own young warriors might attack the post and they would be blamed. While this was a factor, it concealed their real concern that a trading post on the Long Island would bring more settlers to their sacred Island and promote white migration into the heart of their hunting grounds. It was destined, however, that the Holston River, nature's corridor through the soaring mountains, would become the pathway of America's first great western expansion.


— LEGEND —
FORTS
MUSTER GROUNDS
ROADS
To Cumberland Gap
BOONE'S WILDERNESS
CREEK
Moccasin Gap
ROAD
HOLSTON
FORK
NORTH
Boatyard
(Kingsport)
CHRISTIAN'S
FORT
Long ISLAND
PATTERSON'S
MILL FORT
RICE'S MILL
FORT
BAYS MOUNTAIN
GREAT WAGGON ROAD
HOLSTON
RIVER
HORSE CREEK
FORT ROBINSO
FORT PATRICK
HENRY
DOUBLE
SPRING
BIG CREEK
ROBERTSON'S
FORT
To
Cumberland Gap
via Bean's Station
CHIMNEY TOP
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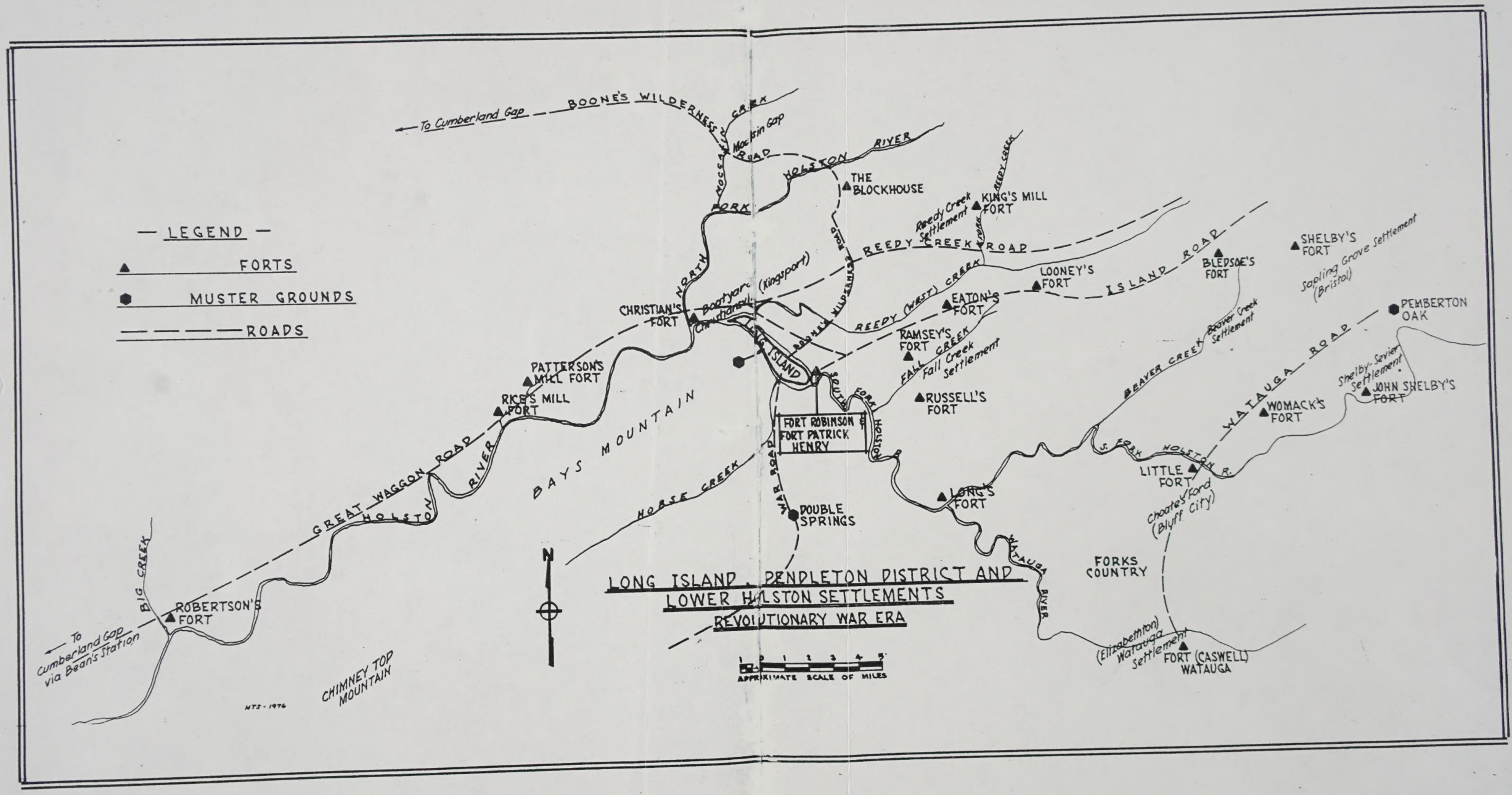
The Long Island served as a "jumping off point" for travelers immigrating west. The defeat of France and Spain by Britain in 1763 opened up the Natchez district in the Mississippi Valley for British settlement. By 1765 pioneer wagons lumbered over the Island Road to the Long Island where the emigrants stayed for a time, cleared a bit of land and planted corn. They then built boats and after harvesting their corn crop, continued their journey by river to Natchez.

In 1766 Virginia revived its plan of ~~1765~~ 1756 for a "factory," fortified with a stockade, to be built on Long Island, and appointed "trustees to supervise its affairs."[6] David Ross was sent to the Overhill Towns to gain the Cherokees' consent. The Indians refused, however, claiming to fear that northern Indians or even their own young warriors might attack the post and they would be blamed. While this was a factor, it concealed their real concern that a trading post on the Long Island would bring more settlers to their sacred Island and promote white migration into the heart of their hunting grounds. It was destined, however, that the Holston River, nature's corridor through the soaring mountains, would become the pathway of America's first great western expansion.


— LEGEND —
FORTS
MUSTER GROUNDS
ROADS
To Cumberland Gap
BOONE'S WILDERNESS ROAD
CREEK
Moccasin Gap Road
HOLSTON RIVER
THE BLOCKHOUSE
KING'S MILL FORT
Reedy Creek Settlement
REEDY CREEK ROAD
SHELBY'S FORT
Sapling Grove Settlement (Bristol)
BLEDSOE'S FORT
LOONEY'S FORT
ISLAND ROAD
EATON'S FORT
REEDY (WEST) CREEK
CHRISTIAN'S FORT
Boatyard (Kingsport)
Christianeville
NORTH FORK
HOLSTON
LONG ISLAND
SOUTH FORK HOLSTON
RAMSEY'S FORT
FALL CREEK
Fall Creek Settlement
RUSSELL'S FORT
FORT ROBINSON
FORT PATRICK HENRY
BEAVER CREEK
Beaver Creek Settlement
PEMBERTON OAK
WATAUGA ROAD
Shelby-Sevier Settlement
JOHN SHELBY'S FORT
WOMACK'S FORT
PATTERSON'S MILL FORT
RICE'S MILL FORT
BAYS MOUNTAIN
GREAT WAGGON ROAD
HOLSTON RIVER
HORSE CREEK
WAR ROAD
DOUBLE SPRINGS
LONG'S FORT
S. FORK HOLSTON R.
LITTLE FORT
Chootes Ford (Blyff City)
FORKS COUNTRY
WATAUGA RIVER
(Elizabethton) Watauga Settlement
FORT (CASWELL) WATAUGA
BIG CREEK
ROBERTSON'S FORT
To Cumberland Gap via Bean's Station
CHIMNEY TOP MOUNTAIN
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LONG ISLAND, PENDLETON DISTRICT AND LOWER HOLSTON SETTLEMENTS
REVOLUTIONARY WAR ERA
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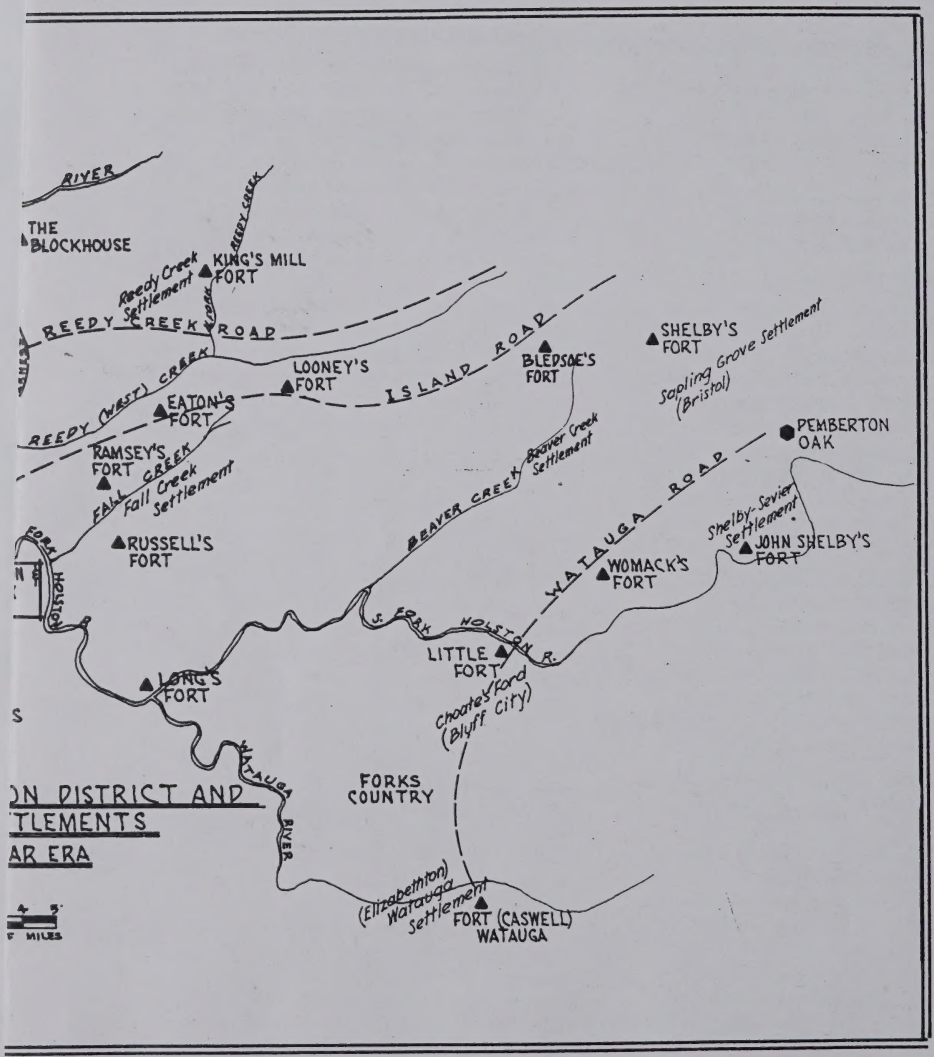
APPROXIMATE SCALE OF MILES


RIVER
THE BLOCKHOUSE
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Reedy Creek Settlement
REEDY CREEK ROAD
REEDY (WEST) CREEK
LOONEY'S FORT
ISLAND ROAD
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SHELBY'S FORT
Sapling Grove Settlement (Bristol)
EATON'S FORT
RAMSEY'S FORT
FALL CREEK
Fall Creek Settlement
BEAVER CREEK
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PEMBERTON OAK
WATAUGA ROAD
Shelby-Sevier Settlement
JOHN SHELBY'S FORT
RUSSELL'S FORT
WOMACK'S FORT
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LITTLE FORT
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LONG'S FORT
WATAUGA RIVER
FORKS COUNTRY
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AR ERA
(Elizabethton) Watauga Settlement
FORT (CASWELL) WATAUGA

Captain Richard Pearis had relocated to South Carolina by 1764, but this provides insight into the conditions he faced there.

The First Pathway to the West, 1764-1775

The conclusion of the Cherokee uprising in 1761, and of the French and Indian War two years later, inaugurated a period of tremendous westward expansion. The glowing reports brought back from the west by men like Dr. Thomas Walker and Nathaniel Gist of the rich lands over the mountains persuaded many to leave their eastern homes and seek their fortunes in the wilderness. This displeased the Indians to such an extent as to cause the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which forbade settlement beyond the crest of the Appalachians. The Proclamation Line was soon breached, however, and to legitimize these encroachments John Stuart, the King's Superintendent for Southern Indian Affairs, was empowered to treat with the Cherokees for additional territory. In 1768, at Hard Labor, South Carolina, Stuart gained an agreement from the Indians to allow settlement in the upper Holston Valley. Two years later, the Lochaber Treaty opened settlement territory on Tennessee soil in the lower Holston Valley. The Cherokees adamantly insisted on retaining Long Island, but agreed to the Lochaber Treaty line six miles east of their beloved Island.

In March, 1771, before the Lochaber Treaty line was surveyed, Deputy Indian Agent Alexander Cameron issued a safe conduct pass to Chief Oconostota to allow him the privilege of hunting beaver in the Long Island area until the surveyors arrived. In May, 1771 John Donelson, chief surveyor arrived with his party at the Long Island and they began surveying the Lochaber line. They surveyed westward along what they judged to be the 36°30' parallel to its junction with the main Holston River. There they made the first deviations from the line agreed to at Lochaber. Instead of continuing along the parallel, the Cherokees consented to let the line follow the course of the Holston River to the vicinity of Long Island. Chief Attacullaculla who accompanied the surveying party explained that white people were living north of the Holston River and that he "pittied them."[7] Thus the North of the Holston Settlement between Sapling Grove, now Bristol, and to near the Long Island, now Kingsport, was placed outside Indian country and open to settlement.

This stimulated a rapid migration into the area of the lower Holston River and its tributaries. The hardy men and women who pioneered the settlement of this region would soon witness their valley become the first great pathway for western expansion and a stronghold of the southwest during the Revolutionary War. The two settlements closest to Long Island were located on the banks of Reedy Creek and headwaters of Fall Creek, six miles to the east. Among the pioneers who settled there between 1769 and 1773 were Humphrey Hogan, William Anderson, John Clendenin, Archibald McNeal, Gilbert Christian, three brothers of the Roberts family, Henry, John and David, and members of the

McMillan, Williams and King families. King built a large mill above the cascades of the North Fork of Reedy Creek, now Boozy Creek. Humphrey Hogan, the local schoolmaster was perhaps Tennessee's first schoolteacher. He was a rugged longhunter who could read but not write. He nonetheless taught the children of the Reedy Creek settlement how to read and cipher. Gilbert Christan built his homestead about seven miles up Reedy Creek from its junction with the Holston River. He arrived between 1772 and 1773 with his wife, Margaret Anderson Christian and their children. By 1774 he was a lieutenant in the Fincastle County, Virginia militia and the commander of King's Mill Fort which was located near his homestead.

The other settlement closest to the Long Island was on the waters of Fall Creek, along the Island Road and on the banks of the Holston River. By 1774, eighty-five families had settled there and some of their cabins hugged the Lochaber line six miles east of Long Island. Here Amos Eaton of South Carolina established corn rights in 1773. His plantation of nine hundred acres lay on both sides of the Island Road at the headwaters of Fall Creek and extended up to the south side of the densely forested Eaton's Ridge.

On February 2, 1771 Nicholas Davis wrote Colonel William Preston an astonishing request, stating that ". . . .I want the Great Island in Holston and some good land contiguous for a Charity School and A Hospital which I am making all the provisions for."[8] What action was taken on his request is unknown.

The Cherokees sternly protested white people crossing the Lochaber Treaty line. As early as July, 1769 Oconostota wrote to John Stuart as follows: "Father: The white people pay no attention to the talks we have had. They are in bodies [redacted] hunting in the middle of our hunting grounds. Some of our people went as far as Long Island of Holston River, but were obliged to come home, for the whole nation is filling with hunters and the guns rattling every way on the path, both up and down the river. They have settled the land a great way this side of the line." In the same year Attacullaculla wrote Stuart that although their land was provided by "The Great Being. . .the white men seem to want to drive us from it."[9]

The increased numbers of white settlers and longhunters on the western path prompted some of the young Cherokees to "shed Blood of White people" which "spoil'd, the path."[10] In the Spring of 1772, Colonel John Donelson delivered presents from the Virginia government to the Cherokees at the Long Island. The gesture of friendship eased for a time the tensions aroused by these encroachments on Cherokee land.

Early in 1774, the Shawnees and other hostile Indian tribes north of the Ohio River launched a campaign to drive the white settlers eastward. Their raids and massacres harrassed the settlers as far south as those living near the Long Island. The Indian policy of the royal governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, aggravated these hostilities. Brutal retaliatory atrocities were deeds of both the Indians and the white settlers. In October the situation ended with the defeat of the Indians in the Battle of Point Pleasant in present-day West Virginia.

During the war Lord Dunmore ordered the construction of forts all along the frontier. Consequently, in 1773 and 1774, a network of forts was erected or refurbished in the lower Holston region. There were nine known forts in the western-most settlements within the present-day boundaries of Sullivan County which included the Long Island. Evan Shelby's Fort was a large stockade built at the site of present-day Bristol. Jacob Womack's Fort and the Litle Fort were on the Watauga Road at Shoate's Ford, now Bluff City. King's Mill Fort, commanded by Gilbert Christian, was on the North Fork of Reedy Creek beside Reedy Creek Road and it served as a depot for supplies. Three forts on the Island Road were Anthony Bledsoe's, near Sapling Grove, now Bristol, Moses Looney's Fort and Eaton's Fort about six miles east of the Long Island. The forts closest to the Long Island were southwest of Eaton's Fort on the Plantations of Thomas Ramsey and Bryce Russell, Sr.

The half-breed Mingo Indian, Chief Logan brought terror to the Reedy Creek settlement when his band of warriors sought white blood indiscriminately. On September 24, 1774 he massacred the John Roberts family while Lieutenant Christian, commander of nearby King's Mill Fort, was away. As the news of the massacre spread, the families all along the lower Holston fled to the forts, and urgent appeals were sent for aid. Captains Daniel Boone, Daniel Smith, James Thompson and William Cocke together with what men they could collect were sent to defend the forts and scout the forest for marauding Indians. On October 4, Colonel Campbell ordered some of these rangers to operate from the Long Island of the Holston. By August 1st, virtually all the people in Fincastle County remained gathered in small forts while their men marched in Captain Evan Shelby's company to fight in the Battle of Point Pleasant.

A few months later, Captain Shelby represented the westernmost part of Fincastle County, which included the Long Island area, at the Fincastle County Court when their discontent with King George III was expressed in the Fincastle Resolutions written on January 20, 1775. Captain Shelby was one of the signers of the resolve that declared "even to these remote regions, the hand of unlimited and unconstitutional

Hatford Oxon. *Hevaford (sic)* 1086 (DB), *Hauetford* 1176. 'Ford near a headland or hill'. OE *hēafod* + *ford*.

Hatherden Hants. *Hetherden* 1193. Probably 'hawthorn valley'. OE *hagu-thorn* + *denu*.

Hatherleigh Devon. *Hadreleia* 1086 (DB). Probably identical in origin with the next name.

Hatherley, Down & Up Glos. *Athelai* 1086 (DB), *Dunheytherleye* 1273, *Hupheberleg* 1221. 'Hawthorn clearing'. OE *hagu-thorn* + *lēah*. Distinguishing affixes from OE *dūne* 'lower downstream' and *upp* 'higher upstream'.

Hathern Leics. *Avederne (sic)* 1086 (DB), *Hacthurne* 1230. '(Place at) the hawthorn'. OE *hagu-thyrne*.

Hatherop Glos. *Etherope* 1086 (DB). Probably 'high outlying farmstead'. OE *hēah* + *throp*.

Hathersage Derbys. *Hereseige (sic)* 1086 (DB), *Hauersegg* c.1220. 'He-goat's ridge', or 'ridge of a man called *Hæfer'. OE *hæfer* or OE pers. name + *ecg*.

Hatherton Ches. *Haretone (sic)* 1086 (DB), *Hatherton* 1262. 'Farmstead where hawthorn grows'. OE *hagu-thorn* + *tūn*.

Hatherton Staffs. *Hagenthorndun* 996, *Hargedone* 1086 (DB). 'Hill where hawthorn grows'. OE *hagu-thorn* + *dūn*.

Hatley, probably 'woodland clearing on the hill', OE *hætt* + *lēah*: **Hatley, Cockayne** Beds. *Hattenleia* c.960, *Hatelai* 1086 (DB), *Cocking Hatley* 1576. Manorial affix from the *Cockayne* family, here in the 15th cent. **Hatley, East & Hatley St George** Cambs. *Hatelai* 1086 (DB), *Esthatteleia* 1199, *Hattele de Sancto Georgio* 1279. Distinguishing affixes from OE *ēast* 'east' and from possession by the family *de Sancto Georgio* here in the 13th cent.

Hattingley Hants. *Hattingele* 1204. Probably 'woodland clearing at the hill place'. OE *hætt* + *-ing* + *lēah*.

Hatton, 'farmstead on a heath', OE *hæth* + *tūn*; examples include: **Hatton** Ches. *Hattone* c.1230. **Hatton** Derbys. Hatune 1086 (DB). **Hatton** Gtr. London. *Hatone* 1086 (DB). **Hatton** Lincs. *Hatune* 1086 (DB). **Hatton** Shrops. *Hatton* 1212. **Hatton, Cold & High** Shrops. *Hatune, Hetune* 1086 (DB), *Colde Hatton* 1233, *Heye Hatton* 1327. Distinguishing affixes from OE *cald* 'cold, exposed' and *hēah* 'high, chief'. **Hatton Heath** Ches. *Etone (sic)* 1086 (DB), *Hettun* 1185.

Haugham Lincs. *Hecham* 1086 (DB). Probably 'high or chief homestead'. OE *hēah* + *hām*.

Haughley Suffolk. *Hagele* c.1040, *Hagala* 1086 (DB). 'Wood or clearing with a hedge, or where haws grow'. OE *haga* + *lēah*.

Haughton, usually 'farmstead in or by a nook of land', OE *halh* + *tūn*: **Haughton** Shrops., near Oswestry. *Halchton* 1285. **Haughton** Shrops., near Shifnal. *Halghton* 1281. **Haughton** Shrops., near Shrewsbury. *Haustone* 1086 (DB). **Haughton** Staffs. *Haltone* 1086 (DB). **Haughton Green** Gtr. Manch. *Halghton* 1307. **Haughton-le-Skerne** Durham. *Halhtun* c.1050. On the River Skerne (for the origin of this river-name see SKERNE with which it is identical in meaning).

However the following has a different origin: **Haughton** Notts. *Hoctun* 1086 (DB). 'Farmstead on a spur of land'. OE *hōh* + *tūn*.

Haunton Staffs. *Hagnatun* 942. 'Farmstead of a man called Hagena'. OE pers. name + *tūn*.

Hautbois, Little Norfolk. *Hobbesse* 1044–7, *Hobuisse* 1086 (DB). Probably 'marshy meadow with tussocks or hummocks'. OE **hobb* + *wisc*, **wisse*.

Hauxley Northum. *Hauekeslaw* 1204. 'Mound of the hawk, or of a man called *Hafoc'. OE *hafoc* or pers. name + *hlāw*.

Hauxton Cambs. *Hafucestune* c.975, *Hauochestun* 1086 (DB). 'Farmstead of a man called *Hafoc'. OE pers. name + *tūn*.

Hauxwell, East N. Yorks. *Hauocheswelle* 1086 (DB). 'Spring of the hawk, or of a man called *Hafoc'. OE *hafoc* or pers. name + *wella*.

Havant Hants. *Hamanfuntan* 935,

Havehunte 108(called Hāma'.

Havenstreet I. (1255. Probably hamlet of a m from ME *strete*. *Hethene* is reco: Alternatively p street', from O.

Haverhill Suffol Probably 'hill v OScand. *hafri* +

Haverigg Cumbr where oats are goats graze'. OS *hryggr*.

Havering-atte-Bo *Haueringas* 1086 1272. '(Settleme followers of a m pers. name + *-ing* the bower or ro *būr*.

Haversham Buck: cent., *Havresham* or river-meadow *Hæfer'. OE pers *hamm*.

Haverthwaite Cur 1336. 'Clearing w OScand. *hafri* + *th*

Hawes N. Yorks. *Ha* the pass between

Hawkchurch Devo 'Church of a man pers. name + *circe*

Hawkedon Suffolk (DB). Probably 'hill hawks'. OE *hafoc* +

Hawkesbury S. Glo (DB). 'Stronghold o man called *Hafo pers. name + *burh*

Hawkhill Northum frequented by haw

Hawkhurst Kent. *H* 'Wooded hill frequ *hafoc* + *hyrst*.

Hawkinge Kent. *Ha* frequented by haw

F-279
S69

Warrants for Lands

IN

South Carolina

1672-1679

EDITED BY
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Secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina

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HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

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Pages 187 + 3 following Vol —
clipped & used re William Hatton
Pearis Family

the Fundamental Constitutions, the proprietors formalized key institutional rules at the January 16, 1708, meeting when they elected Baron Craven as palatine. "Motion being made and Question put," they voted that commissions to all offices were to be signed by the palatine and at least three other proprietors. Assent to the colony's laws was "for ever hereafter to be made . . . by the Palatine himselfe and the full Number of four more of the Lords Proprietors."[43]

Less than a year after Baron Craven became palatine, the proprietors agreed to remove the current Carolina governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, and replace him with Major Edward Tynte and a host of other new officials. These efforts at reform failed when Governor Tynte died only seven months after he reached the colony in 1709. The proprietors commissioned Palatine Craven's brother Charles Craven as secretary of the province that same year, and after they learned of Tynte's death, they made Charles Craven governor. His brother's offices and presence in the colony argue for personal interest on the part of the palatine, but Baron Craven had little time to shape the colony. Reportedly very fat and a lover of "field sports and a bottle," Palatine Craven died suddenly at age forty-three on Oct. 9, 1711.[44]

If, as seems likely, Secretary Shelton was Baron Craven's man, Shelton nonetheless retained his position at his patron's death. Baron Carteret nominated the Duke of Beaufort to succeed Craven as palatine, and the proprietors elected him unanimously. For two months, minutes of meetings were headed "Duke of Beaufort's House," but after that, Palatine Beaufort and the rest of the proprietors returned to Craven House. Though the current holder of the Craven share was then only eleven or twelve years old and represented by a guardian, it was, perhaps, more convenient for Secretary Shelton and the proprietary office to remain with the Craven household at Drury Lane.[45]

The Duke of Beaufort died less than three years after he became palatine. When the proprietors elected John Carteret, Baron Carteret, as the last palatine of Carolina in 1714, the group's headquarters and records moved to Carteret's residence on Arlington Street near Green Park. The group itself, however, met at St. James's Palace. Baron Carteret, then only twenty-four, was adept at languages and famous for his devotion to the Greek and Latin classics. He was just beginning a lengthy political career, but he did not ignore the Carolina proprietorship. In the summer of 1715, Palatine Carteret led the proprietors' response to the Yemassee uprising that threatened the existence of the South Carolina colony. His later stance with regard to the disposition of his share indicates that Carteret had a strong pecuniary interest in the enterprise at least. The South Carolina colony's revolt against proprietary rule in 1719 came just as England was in the midst of the speculative mania known as the South Sea Bubble. In 1720 before the bubble burst, the proprietors almost finalized a sale of all their rights in Carolina to three Quakers. Carteret's representatives signed terms of agreement for this

1719

background history – applies to [illegible] Captain Hall's Stratton. That Doc be taken Indian Factor

F 212 C73 Vol 1 Wesley Frank Craven (1949)
History of 1607-1630

Important and varied were his responsibilities for keeping the local peace. A hog in a garden patch carried the threat of a lawsuit for damage or slander, and often for both; but the law required that the garden be adequately fenced, and the magistrate's intervention to determine the fault in the fence might well save a troublesome suit. Many differences were settled by his arbitration outside court, and under conditions revealing the significant fact that he was not dependent upon the power of his commission alone. Indeed, if the county magistrate had been selected in accordance with the best requirements of a now-established custom, he was a man whose word carried in the community an authority of its own, the kind of man to whom his neighbors naturally turned for arbitration of their differences. Though the royal commission was always at hand in case of need, an easy informality commonly characterized his work, so much so that the Assembly of 1662 felt compelled to speak out against the abuse of "private" courts.[66] In short, think of him as the local squire, a rapidly disappearing figure today, but one still remembered by many of us as he sat in a front pew at church on Sunday or "held court" on Monday, in the summer where the shade was best and in the winter where the fire was near.

The seventeenth-century justice of the peace, first a farmer and then a judge, was even more of a layman than were his successors in office. To cope with the juridical problems of an increasingly complex society, he relied principally upon his own experience and that of his colleagues. The conventions which governed his choice, and which dictated that he should remain at his post for so long as his conduct and service were reasonably satisfactory, constituted the chief safeguard against a general lack of formal training for the job. The rule of the quorum placing a special responsibility upon the more seasoned and capable members of the bench proved of further help, as did the magistrate's personal knowledge of the men and problems with which he dealt. Deficiencies in his knowledge of the law were often compensated by an understanding of his neighbors.

Though necessity now forced upon the full court a certain formality in its proceedings, and the holding of its sessions at regular terms adjusted to those of neighboring counties and of the quarter

[66] *Ibid.*, II, 73.

court, it remained distinctly a layman's court. There was respect for the essential principle and spirit of the law, but impatience with the lawyer and his kind of argument. Expressing discontent with "excessive charges and greate delaies . . . by reason of small mistakes in writts and formes of pleading," the Assembly of 1658 ordered all courts to "proceed and give judgement according as the right of the cause and the matter in lawe shall appeare unto them, without regard of any imperfection, default or want of forme in any writt, returne plaint or process or any other cause whatsoever." [67] In the adjudication of disputes the court often acted as a board of arbitration; and though juries were occasionally used, there appears to have been on both sides of the table a general preference for the speedier and less costly summary proceeding. In the matter of punishment, too, the judges displayed a preference for that which was simple and administratively inexpensive, usually a whipping or a fine. Like the Kentucky judge of a later date, not knowing enough law to do the wrong thing and so trying simply to do the right, the county magistrate of this day was more frequently than not an honorable and faithful public servant, able within his limits, and one who found a justifiable pride in his position.[68]

Nevertheless, his neighbors had their doubts about the squire. The feeling finds occasional expression in such contemptuous statements as that of William Hatton, who was arraigned in 1662 for describing the justices of York County as "Coopers, Hogg trough Makers, Peddlars, Coblers, Tailors, weavers," and generally "not fitting to sit where they doe sit." [69] Despite the heavy expense involved in proceedings at Jamestown and the precedent provided by the quarter sessions of the English county, the county court was

[67] *Ibid.*, I, 486. Beginning in 1642 the court days, staggered for the convenience of those having business in more than one court, were fixed by act of Assembly. *Ibid.*, 272, 462; II, 69–70. As for the lawyer himself, the attitude of the Assembly alternated between attempts to regulate his practice and fees and decisions to throw him out entirely as one more often concerned with his own "inordinate lucre" than the good of his clients. *Ibid.*, I, 275, 302, 313, 349, 419, 482, 495, 522; II, 105.

[68] As with most such bodies, some men carried more than their share and others made it necessary to impose penalties for absence. *Ibid.*, I, 350, 454. On criminal procedure, see Arthur P. Scott, *Criminal Law in Colonial Virginia* (Chicago, 1930); and on the general subject of procedural simplification, Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, 46–62.

[69] York County Records, No. 3, p. 175.

Pg 11

2

THE INDIANS

From the very beginning, Europeans encountered native Americans, and their early narratives provide much information about the culture of the Indians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Unfortunately, these accounts also include much misinformation, for Europeans not only often misunderstood what they saw but their very presence soon changed it as contact between Indians and whites quickly modified both cultures. Thus, the testimony of Europeans must be handled with care. Even the term "Indian" is a misnomer resulting from Columbus's belief that he had reached the Orient; worse, such a generic term conceals the variety among Indian cultures.

The size of the aboriginal population also suffers from the miscalculations of the earliest chroniclers. Older estimates placed it at perhaps no more than 11,000 or 12,000 in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a figure that is little more than an educated guess. More recent investigations of the Indian populations in other areas of the New World suggest that these figures are much too low. White men made the original counts, and they were not impartial enumerators, in part because one of the most common justifications for taking Indian lands was the doctrine of effective use. The smaller the Indian population, the greater the claim which Europeans could assert to the land. There is also considerable evidence that Indians suffered a catastrophic death rate from diseases introduced by Europeans. For example, scholars now believe there were as many as 8,000,000 Indians on the island of Hispaniola in 1492. In 1570 there were 125. That the aboriginal population of South Carolina declined as precipitously during the first

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ROBERT M. WEIR

COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA

A HISTORY

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hundred years of contact is almost inconceivable, but there can be no doubt that Indians were being decimated by disease as early as 1540 when Spaniards first cut through the central portion of the present state. Multiplying older figures by ten or even twenty as has been done in other areas, therefore, appears to be not unreasonable, though the most recent statistics for the southeastern United States are less than double the older figures. The present estimates ranging upward from about 20,000, are also plausible, though obviously very tentative. We know, on the one hand, that at least some Indians in this area lived in large towns of perhaps as many as 500 houses but that, on the other hand, there were large uninhabited areas between villages. It is probable that the region as a whole was sparsely populated, with clusters of relatively dense population.

The Indian settlements were linguistically diverse. Nearly fifty tribes representing four major language groups resided in the area. Using only some of the historically most important tribes as examples, one finds that the "Savanoes" who lived along the Savannah River may have been Shawnees, most of whom were located in Ohio and Kentucky. If so, they spoke an Algonkian language related to those in New England. The language of the Yamasees, who somewhat later also lived along the Savannah River, is now extinct, but it may have belonged to the Muskogean family, which also included the Creeks of Georgia and Alabama. Some scholars believe that the Catawba Indians of central South Carolina used a language most closely related to the Siouan tongues of the Plains Indians. The Cherokees of the southern Appalachian Mountains spoke three distinct dialects, all of which belonged to the Iroquois family. Some Indians appear to have been multilingual, and many may have understood one or more trade jargons.

For the sake of convenience, geographic locations have been attributed to the tribes mentioned above, and, speaking generally, the associations are accurate. But it is worth noting that questions of residence are as thorny as the matter of language. By the fifteenth century the Indians of the southeastern United States had long since ceased to be nomadic, and most lived in permanent towns. Nevertheless, there continued to be considerable geographic mobility. Some of it, as in the case of a few coastal tribes who traveled inland during the winter, amounted to seasonal migrations over relatively short distances. Other movement represented the peregrinations of splinter groups from larger

tribes. Occasionally, an entire tribe moved. For example, the Westos, who probably appeared on the Savannah River shortly before 1670, may have come from Virginia. In 1704 most of the Apalachees who survived a raid by Carolinians left northwestern Florida for South Carolina, and a little over a decade later the Yamasees moved south to Florida. In short, even in cases where documentation is sound (which are relatively rare), it is frequently difficult to say where a particular group of Indians was located without being precise about dates. But that such movement existed has at least two important implications. One, to emerge throughout the ensuing discussion, arises because much of this movement was associated with white intrusion; the other stems from the surprising ease with which the remnants of one tribe joined others.

Such ease of fusion suggests that the tribes in question were culturally related, and other evidence confirms the inference. Archaeologists and anthropologists now recognize that, despite their linguistic variation, Indians of the southeast shared a common culture. Accordingly, though almost nothing is known about some of the smaller coastal tribes of South Carolina, like the Abbapoola, their social organization and cosmology were probably similar to that of the Creeks and Cherokees, and much has been learned about these larger groups. Moreover, the Carolina Indian trade involved not only the Creeks and the Cherokees but also, at one time or another, most of the major tribes in the huge area from the southern Appalachian Mountains to the lower Mississippi Valley. Contact between South Carolinians and the Indians to the northeast was less frequent (except during the Tuscarora War), and there seems to have been a rather sharp cultural discontinuity between tribes in the vicinity of modern Georgetown and those further north around the Cape Fear River. Less pronounced regional differences occurred elsewhere on the coast and in the mountains, but the relative homogeneity of Indian cultures southwest of Cape Fear, as well as the wide-ranging Carolina trade, make it possible to generalize about the Indians who affected the development of the colony by drawing evidence from tribes who lived well beyond the present boundaries of the state.

The most striking feature of the Indian culture in this area was its relatively high degree of sophistication. Indeed, the southeastern Indians were the most culturally advanced of any in the present United States, partly because of a long period of development. Humans crossed

a land bridge from Asia to North America during the Ice Ages perhaps as long as 50,000 years ago; by 9000 B.C. they were definitely here. By at least 2000 B.C. they were making pottery, tempered or strengthened with vegetable fibers, and some of the oldest ware of this kind found in the United States has been discovered at a site on Stallings Island in the Savannah River near Augusta, Georgia. By 1000 B.C. Indians had begun to cultivate the soil and build burial mounds. Between 700 and 900 A.D., a sophisticated civilization developed in the region around the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, from which it spread southward and eastward. Characterized by relatively intensive cultivation of crops which had originated in the tropics, the construction of flat-topped pyramids, and symbolic motifs which included the plumed serpent, this culture or "Mississippian tradition," as it is now termed, exhibited many Meso-American affinities. The precise source of the latter is unclear. Perhaps some traits were indigenous; the migration of peoples and diffusion of characteristics among adjacent populations could have accounted for others. Some characteristics may even have been spread by Aztec traders. Whatever the source, the height of the Mississippian tradition at approximately 1200 A.D. produced large and impressive civilizations based on agriculture, supplemented by hunting and gathering.

Corn, beans of various kinds, and squash were the main crops; and interestingly enough, these plants complemented each other in a number of ways. Beans and corn are both sources of protein, but the former supplies an amino acid, lysine, which the latter lacks. Thus together they provide a reasonably complete diet of vegetable protein. (Incidentally, the Indians treated the corn with lye made from wood ashes to make hominy in a process which also increased the amount of both lysine and niacin.) Being a legume, beans also replaced nitrogen in the soil which corn depleted. This semi-symbiotic relationship helps to account for the Indians' ability to cultivate the same fields over long periods of time without the use of fertilizer. (Contrary to current mythology, Indians in this area did not place a fish in each hill.) They did, however, plant the corn and beans in hills, and the vines entwined themselves around the cornstalks, which made picking easier. Piling additional soil on top of the hill as the plants grew also helped to support the corn, which has shallow roots, conserved moisture, and decreased erosion. It also reduced the amount of labor involved in

From the influential map by Edward Crisp entitled "A Compleat Description of the Province of Carolina in 3 Parts" (London, 1711). A detail of part two, "A Map of South Carolina *Shewing the* Settlements of the English, French, & Indian Nations *from* Charles Town to *the* River Mississippi *by Capt.* Tho. Nairn." *Courtesy of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.*

cultivation, which was done with sticks and hoes. Although clay soils would have been difficult to work with this technology, it was well adapted to the loose and alluvial soils of the river bottoms near which the Indian villages were located. Precisely how much of their diet came from these fields is difficult to say, and the amount obviously varied from year to year. Usually, however, the proportion was substantial, and it made the Indians vulnerable to attacks by whites who devastated their fields. The Cherokees, for example, suffered great hardships after the Carolinians destroyed their crops in 1760, 1761, and 1776.

Under such conditions gathering wild plants became essential, but normally it played only a supplementary role. Berries and fruits like the persimmon provided a doubtless welcome change and, unlike almost all other foods which were usually boiled, broiled, or barbecued, these were often eaten raw. After whites introduced peaches, figs, and watermelons, the Indians quickly adopted them. Nuts of many kinds, including especially chestnuts, were a source of oil. "Hickory milk," made by boiling hickory nuts and skimming off the oil which floated to the top, had an unusually delicate flavor. Acorns were normally bitter, but some Indians may have learned to neutralize the acid content with lye. They certainly knew much about the pharmacological if not chemical properties of other plants. Among the Creeks and perhaps other Indians, willow bark provided one of their most common remedies. It contains salicin, the active ingredient synthesized in our most commonly used medicine, aspirin. "Black drink," a tea made from a species of holly, was a potent source of caffeine; taken in large enough quantities, it became an emetic. In one form or another, its use was a constant accompaniment at council meetings and ceremonial occasions.

The latter, which, as we shall see, were a central feature of Indian life, derived from earlier hunting cultures, and hunting itself continued to be an important activity. Before the advent of the whites it was done with a bow and arrow, though some Indians such as the Cherokees also used a blowgun for birds and small game. Estimates of the effectiveness of bows and arrows differ, but Spaniards reported after one engagement that they found arrows which had penetrated oak saplings two inches in diameter. Nevertheless, the Indians quickly came to prefer guns. The main game animal, which probably accounted for well over 50 percent of the animal protein in the diet, was the white-tailed deer, and there is evidence to indicate that the Indians artificially increased its numbers by firing the woods. Such burning keeps down the underbrush and promotes the growth of grass. Hence, as Europeans noted, forests frequently had the appearance of parks, and as late as the Revolution, they were often open enough for the operation of horsemen. As a result, deer sometimes ranged in herds of up to 200 head, much larger than are now seen. Before white contact Indians hunted in groups, sometimes driving deer, sometimes decoying them by disguising themselves under deerskins to which the head and antlers remained attached. The hunting season ran from late fall to early spring; and the kill was proportional to the need for meat and clothing. But the deerskin trade which developed through Charles Town tapped an apparently insatiable English demand for buckskin breeches, and the resulting slaughter of deer boggles the mind. In 1748, Indians, hunting alone, using guns, and leaving the carcasses to rot, supplied approximately 160,000 skins for export from Charles Town, and by the end of the colonial period the cumulative total was probably several million. To be sure, that figure subsumes the better part of a century and a hinterland which often reached to the Gulf Coast and the Mississippi River, but the numbers involved suggest what would happen to the buffalo in the nineteenth century. Bison, incidentally, once occurred infrequently in South Carolina but were rare by the time Europeans arrived. Fish and small game—including turkeys, passenger pigeons, waterfowl, raccoons, and opossums—made up most of the rest of the Indians' diet. Bears furnished oil for cooking and cosmetic purposes.

Apparently alone among the game animals, bears could be killed with impunity; all others required an apology and a show of respect, lest their spirits inflict harm upon the hunter. Rheumatism, for example, was considered to be the deer's disease. Precisely why bears bore the brunt of this invidious distinction is not entirely clear. A Cherokee myth suggests that in a council of the animals they once revealed themselves to be too spineless to retaliate against man's insults and injuries. But the existence of such a myth raises more questions than it answers. Perhaps the bear's anomalous appearance and behavior were the source of its unenviable distinction. Though a four-footed animal, the bones of the paw resemble the bones of a human hand; a bear sometimes walks on its hind legs like a human and is also omnivorous. In short, bears appeared to stand at the borderline between

the categories "human" and "animal." To an Indian, that made them objects of special concern and interest.

Like many preliterate societies elsewhere, the southeastern Indians subscribed to a system of beliefs in which all things material and spiritual were neatly categorized. According to the Cherokees, the world, which was flat and suspended by four cords, hung from a stone vault that lifted daily to permit passage of the heavenly bodies. Above the vault was an Upper World of purity, order, and stability inhabited by god-like beings, of which the sun and moon were the most important. Beneath this world was the Lower World of uncertainty and chaos inhabited by monsters, of which the Uktena was the most terrible. Possessing the wings of a bird, the body of a serpent, and the antlers of a deer, it combined normally separate categories of animals and thereby epitomized the awful consequences of confounding that which should be kept separate. Being balanced between opposing forces, this world and those that dwelled therein fared well when the balance was maintained. When the equilibrium was upset, evil and misfortune ensued. Thus, fire, which represented the sun from the Upper World, should never be extinguished with water, especially spring water which issued from the underworld. To mix categories was to create pollution.

Indian rituals and ceremonies were accordingly designed to maintain or restore purity. Whole villages bathed every morning; mothers sprinkled newborn infants or plunged them in creeks before permitting them to nurse; council members used the black drink before deliberating, and men fasted before joining war parties. Purity appears to have been the object in each case. Perhaps its importance can be seen most clearly in the "busk" or Green Corn Ceremony performed by virtually all of the southeastern Indians. A festival of fasting and feasting to celebrate the ripening of the corn crop, it was an occasion for wiping the slate clean and beginning anew. Thus the Chickasaws extinguished all fires, and a priest clad in white buckskin kindled a new one, which was then used to relight the fires of each household. Spouses could dissolve the tie that bound them, and offenders who had committed most types of crime received pardons.

The exception was a killer who remained liable for the death he had caused, even if it had been accidental. Unlike English criminal law, which was chiefly concerned with guilt, Indian legal systems were interested in questions of liability or responsibility for injuries inflicted.

The underlying principle was that of retaliation, "an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth." Although compensation of other kinds was accepted, at times, the usual sequence involved a life for a life. The life forfeited need not necessarily be that of the guilty party; it could be that of a kinsman. Both the responsibility for the initial wrong and for avenging it were collective; they belonged to the clans of which the individuals involved were members. Thus a Chickasaw once offered to die in place of his nephew who had killed a white man. Although the governor of South Carolina continued to demand the guilty party, the uncle's act was no mere gesture. His death would have satisfied the requirements of Indian law, which was designed to keep the peace. A life for a life evened the score, restored the balance and, at least theoretically, ended further retaliation. Colonists had some trouble getting this straight, perhaps because they frequently failed to understand the clan system.

The basic unit of Indian society was the clan, a kinship group which commonly traced the relationship of its members along matrilineal lines. An individual belonged to, for example, the deer clan because his mother belonged to the deer clan, and he was considered to be related to all other members of the clan. He could therefore expect special hospitality from kinsmen in other towns whom he might never have seen, and he was obligated to avenge their deaths. His father's clan was another matter. Most of its members were not considered to be his relations, and he might marry one of them whom we would consider to be closely related; nor was he obligated to retaliate for injuries done to them. Perhaps the most striking illustration of the close ties between the clan and legal systems arises out of the death of a child. For a father to kill his child was murder because they belonged to different clans, and he thus had committed a wrong which cried out for vengeance. However, if the mother killed her child, she did not commit infanticide because they were of the same clan and no one bore the responsibility for avenging the death. By the same principle, it would seem that members of the same clan might slay each other as adults without fear of retaliation. Actually, however, the moral sanctions against such behavior appear to have been strong enough to make it virtually unthinkable, and Indian societies apparently failed to develop institutionalized methods for dealing with these unusual occurrences.

At the same time, war—which was essentially an extension of the clan system of retaliatory justice—was common. Rarely, except perhaps at the peak of the Mississippian tradition, was it fought for territorial expansion or other economic gain; rather, its purposes were generally revenge or prestige. It was the way in which men acquired war names and other honors; one suspects that they regarded it as their essential function. Like hunting (which was also a man's business), war was seasonal. Men hunted game in winter and scalps in summer. Under most circumstances, annihilating the enemy would have been no more rational than annihilating the deer. War parties were therefore usually small-scale affairs, from two or three men up to perhaps twenty. Surprise was essential and, if discovered, such a party might turn around without engaging the enemy. One or two deaths on either side frequently ended a skirmish. If a party surprised and killed everyone in a small group of the enemy, it would leave some token—usually a war club—to reveal who had been responsible, lest the contest be without meaning. War waged by such rules ended without formal treaties, and peace was more a temporary respite than an extended condition.

Here again, Europeans had difficulty understanding Indian behavior. In particular, the rituals and ceremonies connected with war puzzled and frustrated them. For example, while forming a war party the Cherokees placed a sacred quartz crystal on a red pole and the warriors filed by. If one of them failed to see a flash of light, he dropped out of the undertaking. Similarly, a war party which encountered an unfavorable omen might turn around and go home. If Englishmen considered such behavior cowardly, they admired the Indians' prowess and courage in other contexts. As one Carolinian scornfully remarked in the late eighteenth century, local society had not progressed beyond the adolescent state in which men most respected physical accomplishments. Accordingly, whites marveled at the stature of Indian men, many of whom at 5 ft. 8 in. to 6 ft. were taller than most Europeans of this time. In addition, Indians were frequently in superb physical condition. According to one story, a trader, having wronged an Indian, escaped on horseback. Fifteen miles away, the Indian, who was on foot, overtook and killed him. No wonder that a British officer, seeking to describe the arduousness of a campaign in the mountains of western Carolina, summed everything up by noting, "Even our Indians were

Knocked up," or exhausted. Moreover, few whites would deny that when the end was inevitable Indians knew how to die.

In a sense, they had had lessons in dying from captives. To be a prisoner of the Indians was not to be in an enviable position. At one extreme, such persons, especially women or children, might be adopted and treated as full members of the tribe. Alternatively, they might be enslaved. Thereafter, they were walking scalps and lived precariously. Most men, however, were tortured and killed. The exact procedure varied from tribe to tribe, but a male captive was often tied to a frame or pole, his scalp taken or protected with clay, and he was then burned, sometimes by being impaled with resinous pine splinters which were lighted. Such burning may have been related to practices introduced by de Soto and other Europeans, but the taking of scalps seems to have been an indigenous custom. So, too, was the death song, which the captive was expected to sing while being tortured. Boasting of his exploits and showing contempt for his captors earned the dying man respect but seldom a reprieve. Betraying fear brought laughter and derision.

That women participated in torturing prisoners may seem surprising in view of the fact that war was predominately a male activity, and in many respects the sexes not only had very distinct roles but also remained apart much of the time. Yet these roles occasionally blurred, and Nancy Ward, who earned the title "War Woman," accompanied Cherokee warriors into battle during the 1750s and, after the Revolution, participated in peace talks. Actually the latter was not so unusual. Finding no women among white negotiators in Charles Town twenty years earlier, her uncle had inquired if whites were not also born of women. As his remark implied, Cherokee women, like those in most other southeastern tribes, enjoyed considerable influence if not power. A woman ruled Cofitachequi, the chiefdom in the interior of South Carolina visited by de Soto in 1540. And though they were probably more persuasive behind the scenes, women could speak in council meetings throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To the extent that these tribes recognized private property (which did not include the communally worked fields), women—or the immediate lineage traced through women—also owned individual houses, and a new husband might move in with his wife. Like a man, a woman had virtually complete sexual freedom before marriage; thereafter—except

among the Cherokees who continued to give her sexual privileges equal to those of her husband—something of a double standard applied, and she might have her ears cut off with a dull knife for adultery. Normally, women tended the fields and garden plot and did the gathering of vegetable foods; men supplied the meat. The latter skinned the animals; women processed the hides and made clothes. The rearing of girls was also the responsibility of women. Young men, however, came under the tutelage of their mother's brother or the senior male among her immediate relations. Although the pattern seems to have been somewhat modified by white influence, the father usually had only a minimal role in disciplining his sons. In fact, contemporary whites would probably not have used the term discipline to describe the restraints imposed upon boys who were reared in what appeared to be an extremely permissive environment. White observers undoubtedly underrated the power of ridicule and shame to shape behavior, but they were correct in believing that punishment seldom involved physical coercion.

Indeed, at least by the seventeenth century, coercion of anyone was very rare. At the height of the Mississippian tradition on the eve of European contact, there appeared to have been chiefdoms in which rulers exercised great discretionary, even arbitrary, power. Although the Natchez "Suns" continued to wield extraordinary authority, most chiefs—of which there were usually many in a tribe—were influential men who could persuade but not command. Each man and woman was a separate entity. Protected by their clans, they could not be compelled to act against their will. Perhaps nothing reveals the strength of this individualism more clearly than the siege of Fort Loudoun. In 1760, after surrounding the Carolina fort in what is now eastern Tennessee, Cherokee warriors settled down in uncharacteristic fashion to starve the garrison out. But Cherokee women who had husbands and lovers among the soldiers continued to supply them with food. Short of killing these women, there was no way to compel them to desist, and to kill them was to invite retaliation from their kinsmen. Indian decisions were arrived at by consensus, and treaties with whites, to be binding, required virtually unanimous approval.

Colonists sometimes called this anarchy but the goal was harmony, and Indians appear to have been generally quite successful in attaining it, not only in a social sense but in other ways as well. In particular, their beliefs formed a coherent whole in which almost everything was

related to everything else. Furthermore, these belief systems, like many modern faiths and ideologies, involved abstract categories and tenets not easily susceptible to proof or disproof. Accordingly, the Indian way of life exhibited a toughness and resiliency in the face of white pressure that has been frequently overlooked.

Although whites often misunderstood the causes of what they believed to be the Indians' stubborn refusal to become "civilized," most colonial South Carolinians soon learned not to underrate it. The Spanish had rather mixed success in Christianizing Indians with their mission system and the English did considerably worse. The first Anglican missionary, who came to South Carolina in 1702, ostensibly to convert the Yamasee Indians, gave up without ever going beyond the white settlements near Charles Town. Few of his successors did much better, though the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel brought a young Yamasee "prince" to London some years later. He was among the first of several Indians who visited England under different auspices during the colonial period. Most notably, seven returned to London with Sir Alexander Cuming, a Scottish baronet who visited the Cherokees in 1730. A generation later, following the Cherokee War, several chiefs again went to London for a short stay. Frequently lionized and given royal audiences, such Indian visitors were exotics on the London scene and were usually being exploited for diplomatic or private purposes.

Something else seems to have been going on in the case of a German, Christian Priber, who lived among the Cherokees from 1736 to 1743. Priber was a fascinating and enigmatic figure who sought to erect a "kingdom of paradise" in the southern Appalachians. Unlike those utopian schemes which start from scratch, his seems to have involved a desire to preserve the best features of Indian society and some understanding of what they were. Among other things, he sought to educate the Cherokees about the white traders' techniques. Not surprisingly, the latter professed to believe that he was a Jesuit agent of the French crown. Seized by British traders and Creek auxiliaries, Priber died imprisoned in Georgia. James Adair was neither so colorful nor so eccentric, but he was an unusual trader, for he observed Indian life closely and sympathetically. Perhaps it is significant that he was unable to obtain enough subscribers in Charles Town to publish his *History of the American Indians*. Printed in London in 1775, it remains one of the basic sources for understanding native Carolinians.

Priber and Adair are notable because their attitudes towards Indians were exceptional. Daniel Hammerer deserves mention because his underwent a typical transformation. Another German, he concocted a scheme in the 1760s to civilize the Indians, for which he received support from the British ministry. Though skeptical, the lieutenant governor of South Carolina, William Bull, promised to aid; sometime later he reported that Hammerer had given up the task and turned instead to "trafficking" with the settlers of the backcountry. The whole episode epitomizes the English experience with the Indians. By the time Carolina was founded in 1670, Englishmen had the benefit of much prior contact with Indians elsewhere, but they were still not sure who the native Americans were and how they might behave. Some students of the matter suspected that they were descendants of the lost tribes of Israel, and as late as the early eighteenth century ministers in South Carolina frequently exhibited an otherwise puzzling interest in whether Indians were circumcised.

In general, however, most Englishmen appear at first to have believed that natives were merely human beings like themselves in what might now be called an earlier stage of social evolution. "Enlightened" Englishmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had descended from the "rude" Anglo-Saxons of the Dark Ages; so too, they thought, Indians would shortly become civilized. Such assumptions may have been partly responsible for the Carolina proprietors' liberal policy toward them, including the truly remarkable provision in the Fundamental Constitutions granting Indians complete religious toleration provided they acknowledge the existence of a God. Few did, in the Christian sense, and for entirely unrelated reasons the Fundamental Constitutions never became the law of the land. That provision and the assumptions undergirding it marked the road not taken. For conflict with the Indians soon convinced most South Carolinians that the likes of Hammerer were on a wild goose chase, and Bull represented the majority of those who came to believe that the Indians were locked in "savagism," destined not to evolve but to be brushed aside by the wheel of progress. He was therefore puzzled by and saddened by their fate. Concluding a report in 17[illegible] cannot quit the Indians without mentioning an [illegible] often raised my wonder. That in this [illegible] swarming with tribes of [illegible]

The Cherokee Indians who visited London in 1730 under the auspices of Sir Alexander Cuming. According to the original caption, they were (left to right) O Onaconoa, K Skalilosken Ketagustah, K Kollannah, Ok Oukah Ulah, T Tathcowe, C Clogoittah, and U Ukwaneequa. Engraving by Isaac Basire, London, 1730. *Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library.*

Catawbas, nothing of them but their names, within three hundred miles of our sea coast;... nor [is there] any accounting for their extinction by war or pestilence equal to the effect." Expecting the same thing, whatever it was, to befall the Catawbas, he soon tried to make arrangements for his nephew to acquire their lands.

Few men in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were as humane as Bull; and many, not content merely to take advantage of the inevitable, were quite willing to assist in hastening it. Some of the Carolina traders were especially ruthless. One, irritated for some reason with an Indian woman, "caused" her, in the words of a contemporary observer, "to be scalloped." She lived for "two or three days in that miserable condition." Nevertheless, such random and gratuitous acts of violence, though perhaps more frequent than one would like to believe, could not have been common [illegible] a major role in reducing the Indian popular[illegible] underes[illegible] fects of

the total slave population was approximately 4,300; 1,400, or about one-third, were Indians. Among the Indians were 300 children, 600 women, and 500 men. There are several ways of explaining these figures. Indian women were accustomed to agricultural labor, while their husbands were not. Whites therefore considered the Indian men lazy. Moreover, men were less tractable and more apt to run away or rebel. Many of those captured were accordingly sent to other markets or, usually it seems, killed. Certainly that is the implication of John Barnwell's statement following an attack on the Tuscarora Indians in 1712, to the effect that "while we were putting the men to the sword our Indians got all the slaves and plunder, only one girl we got." Similarly, at about the same time, an Anglican missionary condemned the Indian traders for instigating wars to produce slaves which could then be used to pay for goods. "And what slaves!" he continued. They were only "poor women and children; for the men taken prisoners were burnt most barbarously." Thus the 500 men on the tax list in 1708, or the 308 Indians presumably exported in 1716, are poor measures of the carnage wrought by the Indian slave trade. There is no way to estimate the number of warriors who died to produce these figures, [illegible]t it must have been many times greater.

[illegible] Bull neglected the slave trade as a factor in the disappearance of [illegible]dian, he may also have overlooked a few Indians who remained [illegible]his own doorstep. Much has been written in the past about [illegible]wn of Indian cultures, the concomitant rise of alcoholism, [illegible] of a degraded Indian population, eking out an existence [illegible] of white society. Although scholars are now more [illegible] native Americans were able to retain tribal [illegible]nities, the older view rested on con- [illegible] alcoholism struck Indians es- [illegible]. What is certain, though, [illegible]ng white settlements in [illegible] record, especially in [illegible] as hunters who, [illegible] for a mere [illegible]ere

Tribes . . . , consisting only of some few Families each." Who they were and how they survived are questions which require further investigation.

How Indians perceived their eroding position also requires further study; their actions reveal patterns of both accommodation and resistance. The Catawbas, for example, kept their footing by becoming clients of the authorities in Charles Town. And unlike most of the southern Indians, they backed the winning side in the Revolution. Thus, despite some compromises—e.g., their "King" became a "general" during the Revolution—they were able to maintain much of their tribal culture and part of their lands. Today, still living in South Carolina, they are making attempts to obtain compensation for some of the rest. Indians also resented wrongs and retaliated in kind when they could. Thus many conflicts with whites were essentially traditional Indian wars in which the balance sheet of retribution might involve very precise calculations. At other times, as when Indians acted as auxiliaries with French or British armies, their own purposes were overshadowed and obscured.

The Yamasee War of 1715, however, appears to have been different and perhaps unique in character. Some contemporary South Carolinians blamed Spanish authorities for instigating the conflict; and Spaniards in Florida certainly provided a refuge for the Yamasees after the uprising failed, though modern scholarship tends to minimize the role of Europeans and attribute greater responsibility to the Creeks. Some historians have implied that the term "Yamasee War" is something of a misnomer that should signify no more than that the Yamasees, who were located near settlements in the southern part of South Carolina, attacked first. The most significant point, these scholars sensibly suggest, is not who started the war but the fact that before it was over about fifteen tribes were leagued against the whites. Yet an effort of such magnitude raises important questions about the Indians' intentions and ability to mount it, which are inseparable from the question of origin. One historian, Leitch Wright, has recently suggested that the Indian attacks were the dying gasps of Cofitachequi. Metaphorically speaking, he is of course correct, and vestiges of the organization of an earlier chiefdom, if they did persist, might well have facilitated a coordinated attack. Furthermore, if, as some scholars believe, the Yamasee language was widely understood among other tribes, it may have played an important part in the planning of hostilities. Thus it is perhaps significant that some knowledgeable Carolinians attributed the primary responsibility to the "Huspah King" of the Yamasees. In addition, the nature of the attacks suggest that for perhaps the only time in the colonial period, Indians in South Carolina both believed that they could wipe out the white settlements and attempted to act on that belief. If that supposition is correct, the war is probably appropriately named; for the Yamasee had reason to be especially confident of their own prowess and contemptuous of the whites'. In short, their grievances, which included intrusions on their lands as well as abuse and exploitation by avaricious traders, though serious, were common to other tribes, but their perspective on their problems and potential solutions may have been somewhat different.

Approximately three years before going to war with the colonists, a large number of Yamasee warriors had accompanied an expedition from South Carolina under John Barnwell, sent to assist the North Carolinians against the Tuscarora Indians. There the Yamasees could have made a number of relevant observations. First, the Tuscaroras nearly obliterated some of the settlements in North Carolina. They were also strong enough to force Barnwell to accept a negotiated peace. And finally, the Yamasees themselves may have been the best fighting men on the field; they certainly were the best in Barnwell's force, which eventually included quite a few white North Carolinians. In one engagement, the latter needlessly broke and ran, for which, Barnwell observed, several were "deservedly shot . . . in their arses." On the other hand, he was sure that his "brave Yamassees" would "live and die" with him. Nor was his confidence misplaced. "When all others left me in my greatest extremity," he later reported, they remained steadfast. In short, the Yamasees not only had reason to feel that subsequent mistreatment of them was a poor reward for their services, but they also had solid evidence to suggest that the Indians were capable of doing something about their plight. Significantly, a letter addressed to the governor of South Carolina was found on one of their dead after an early battle. It warned him to leave the province because the Indians intended to retake their country and they had, or soon would have, all the Indians on the continent with them. Such all-out efforts are

frequently associated with more general attempts to revitalize threatened cultures. To what extent that was the case at this time is a question which also deserves more investigation.

The Yamasee War was the Indians' supreme effort at resistance in South Carolina and, in the end, it obviously failed. Leaving behind Pocotaligo and their other towns, the survivors withdrew to Florida, from which for many years they continued to harass the southern frontiers of their old homeland. Despite his oversights, Lieutenant Governor Bull was essentially correct. Like so many other Indians, the Yamasee were gone by his day, and Pocotaligo lives on today as a little hamlet, not far from Interstate 95 in Beaufort County. Musical names are a part of the local Indian legacy, but only a minor part. Textbooks in American history mention more important contributions to the colonial way of life—crops like corn and squash; techniques such as hilling for cultivating them, and ways of cooking them like cornbread and succotash. The list obviously could be extended to much greater length, but even this abbreviated version suggests both the limited nature and the character of much of this cultural transfer; it consisted of foods. Why the colonists were interested in Indian foodstuffs is perhaps obvious; precisely how they learned about them is not. One has to wonder if many South Carolinians visited Indian villages where they could have seen corn being grown and cooked. Whites in general could have picked up techniques from contemporaries who had been to Indian towns or from predecessors who were learning about such matters in Massachusetts and Virginia a half century or more before South Carolina was founded. The slave quarters were, however, a more direct route to the kitchen. Indeed, there is a chain of circumstantial evidence to indicate that this was in fact the chief channel of transmission. Indian women were in charge of growing and processing food in their own societies; Indian slavery was common in South Carolina; most Indian slaves were women; and planters usually permitted slaves to maintain their own garden plots. These gardens, one accordingly suspects, had a good deal more influence than the more elaborate experimental plantings made at the direction of the proprietors during the early years of the colony. Indian hominy lives on as grits, and soul food in general owes much to Indian cooking.

The relationship between Indians and blacks is difficult to categorize.

Throughout the colonial period whites tried hard to maintain separation and foster antipathy between free Indians and slaves. Blacks were forbidden to trade in the Indian towns, while Indians were encouraged to pursue runaway slaves. To judge from their own comments on the matter, white South Carolinians appear to have believed that their policy was successful. Indians, they claimed, hated blacks and blacks feared Indians. Perhaps so, but scattered evidence also indicates the contrary. A runaway black helped the Tuscarora Indians construct the fort which gave Barnwell such a hard time; runaway blacks and Indians inhabited Fort Mosé outside of St. Augustine, and both were among the ancestors of the Seminole Indians. If relations between Indians and blacks were this close outside of slavery, there is every reason to think that they were at least equally close within its confines, where many of the Indians were women while most of the blacks were men. Perhaps the complementary sex ratio helps to account for the natural increase among slaves, which probably began in South Carolina at a relatively early date. One can speculate even further about the effects of intermingling Indian and black slaves. Most African tribal societies were patrilineal, but black families exhibited many matrilineal features under slavery. Much of the change was undoubtedly due to the willingness of masters to disrupt the bond between father and son more often than that between mother and daughter. But for black South Carolinians the transition from one familial pattern to another may have been facilitated by the presence of Indian women. One also wonders about the role of "uncles." In the case of "Uncle Tom" and "Uncle Remus" the avuncular image is a neutered one. But Uncle Tom's forebears may have included an Indian warrior, for he was usually the one in charge of his sister's sons; and Uncle Remus certainly had Indian antecedents, for the trickster rabbit and the Tar Baby were characters in Indian myths. There is even another more remote but intriguing possibility. Shortly before the Civil War in Prince William's Parish, at least one slave foreman or driver was a woman. Such a thing was almost unheard of by this date, and it was probably rare at any time. Yet once again it is worth noting in their own societies Indian women exercised considerable authority and influence; they were familiar with agricultural techniques, and Indian slavery in South Carolina antedated the largest importations of blacks. Thus Indian women may well have been in a

position to introduce newly arrived Africans to the routines of the plantation. Under these circumstances, it would not be surprising to find that some of them acted as drivers.

Certainly there can be no doubt that Indian slaves, especially women, were crucial vectors of the Indian cultural influence. This does not mean, however, that there were not other routes. White and Indian males met perhaps most memorably on the battlefield and in the council chamber. Indian men were at home in both. And, like Thomas Jefferson, white South Carolinians were frequently impressed by their eloquence. Thus, a few historians have attributed some characteristic features of Southern oratory to Indian influences. Nor does it seem unreasonable to suggest that Indians may have taught South Carolinians something else. At least William Gilmore Simms, the most prominent man of letters in the state during the antebellum period, carried admiration for their bravery far enough to express a fleeting regret that whites and Indians had not intermarried, for together they might have produced "the very noblest specimens of humanity . . . that the world has ever witnessed." To be sure, that statement was made after the Indians were no longer a real threat. But for more than a hundred years their presence had contributed very materially to a pervasive sense of insecurity which did much to shape the ethos of white South Carolinians. Insecure or not, however, Carolinians could not resist the lure of the land.

3

THE LAND

No doubt the Indians could have taught—and did teach—the settlers much about the environment of the New World, but except for the garden plot, the process of transmission is often obscure. What is clearer is that Europeans learned and mislearned from each other. Ribault, who observed that he had entered the River Jordan, "wherof so muche hathe byn spoken," was obviously familiar with Spanish efforts. Englishmen, too, knew about them, and in fact the record of Spanish frustration and failure on the southern coast of North America may have temporarily diminished their interest in the area. But Ribault's *The Whole and True Discoverye of Terra Florida* was intended to stimulate, not discourage, English efforts. Thus he emphasized the opportunities for Christianizing the natives, finding precious metals, establishing naval bases, and settling the land.

By chance, however, Ribault landed in the part of Carolina where the climate is the most semi-tropical. Having sailed into Port Royal Sound, which he described as "one of the greatest and fayrest havens of the world . . . where without danger all the shippes in the worlde myght be harbored," he found "one of the goodlyest, best and frutfullest [illegible] that ever was sene, and where nothing lacketh." There were [illegible] trees and [illegible] matter of the worlde, and so many sortes of [illegible] showt nett or angle, as many as you [illegible] wildfoule." Laudonnière added [illegible] autiful that Ribault ordered [illegible] continued, was so [illegible] etely covered

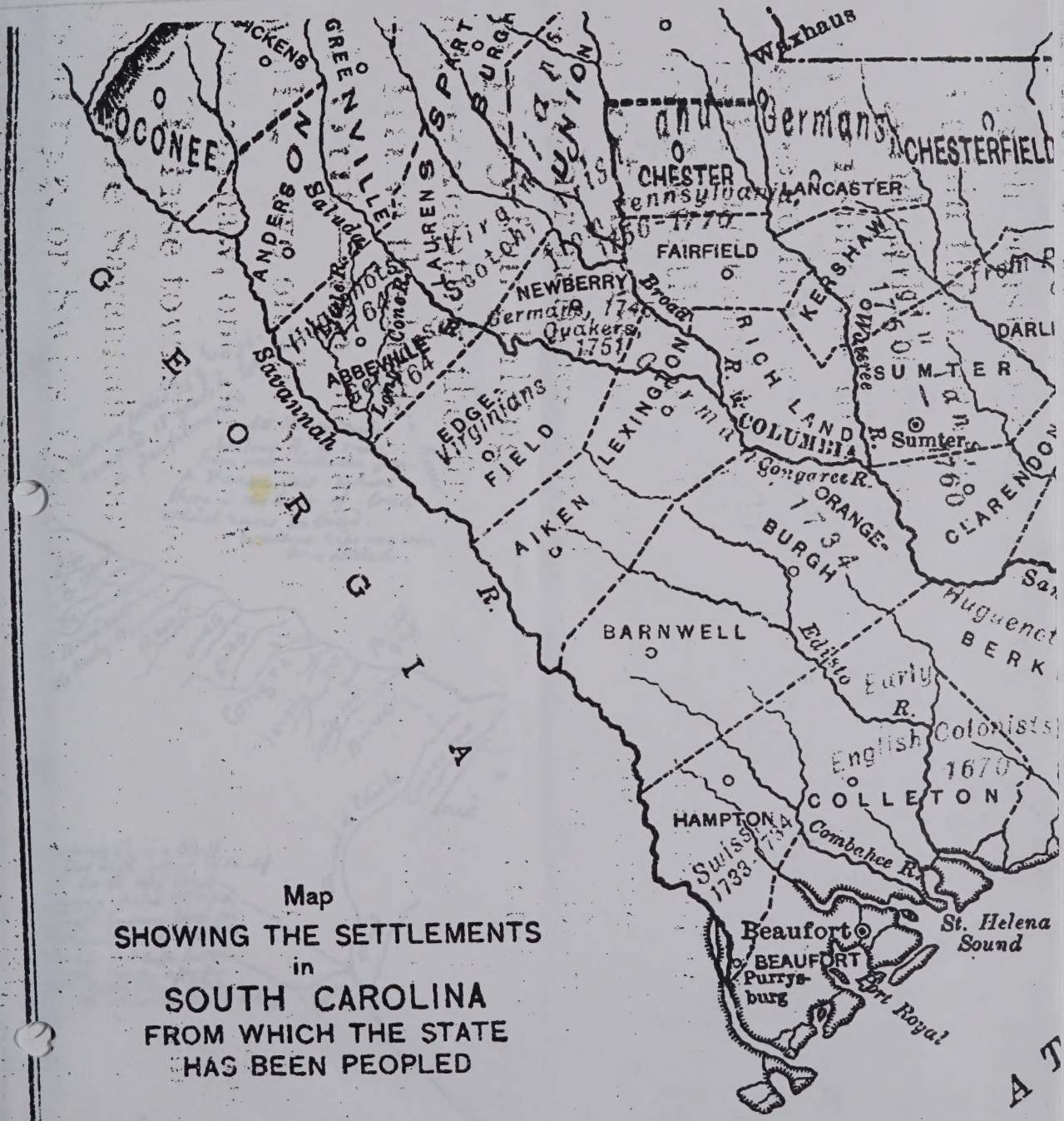
with numerous tall oaks and cedars" and turkeys flew through the forest. Animals common to Europe abounded, and the whole "was a beautiful thing to see." Among them everywhere "were palm trees and many other kinds of trees, and flowers and fruit with rare shapes and attractive perfumes," and the air was laden with their scent. Readers no doubt recalled that the legendary air of Paradise was often perfumed; certainly, some twenty years later, Sir Walter Raleigh noted that palm trees were native to it, "for whereinsoever the Earth, Nature, and the Sun can most vaunt that they have excelled, yet shall the Palme-tree be the greatest wonder of all their workes: This tree alone giveth unto man whatsoever his life beggeth at Nature's hand." And palm trees grew in Carolina! Accordingly, he concluded that the Garden of Eden had been located in the same latitude. Thus, legend, chance, experience, and promotionalism came together, and for a moment at least it appeared that Carolina resembled our earthly birthplace.

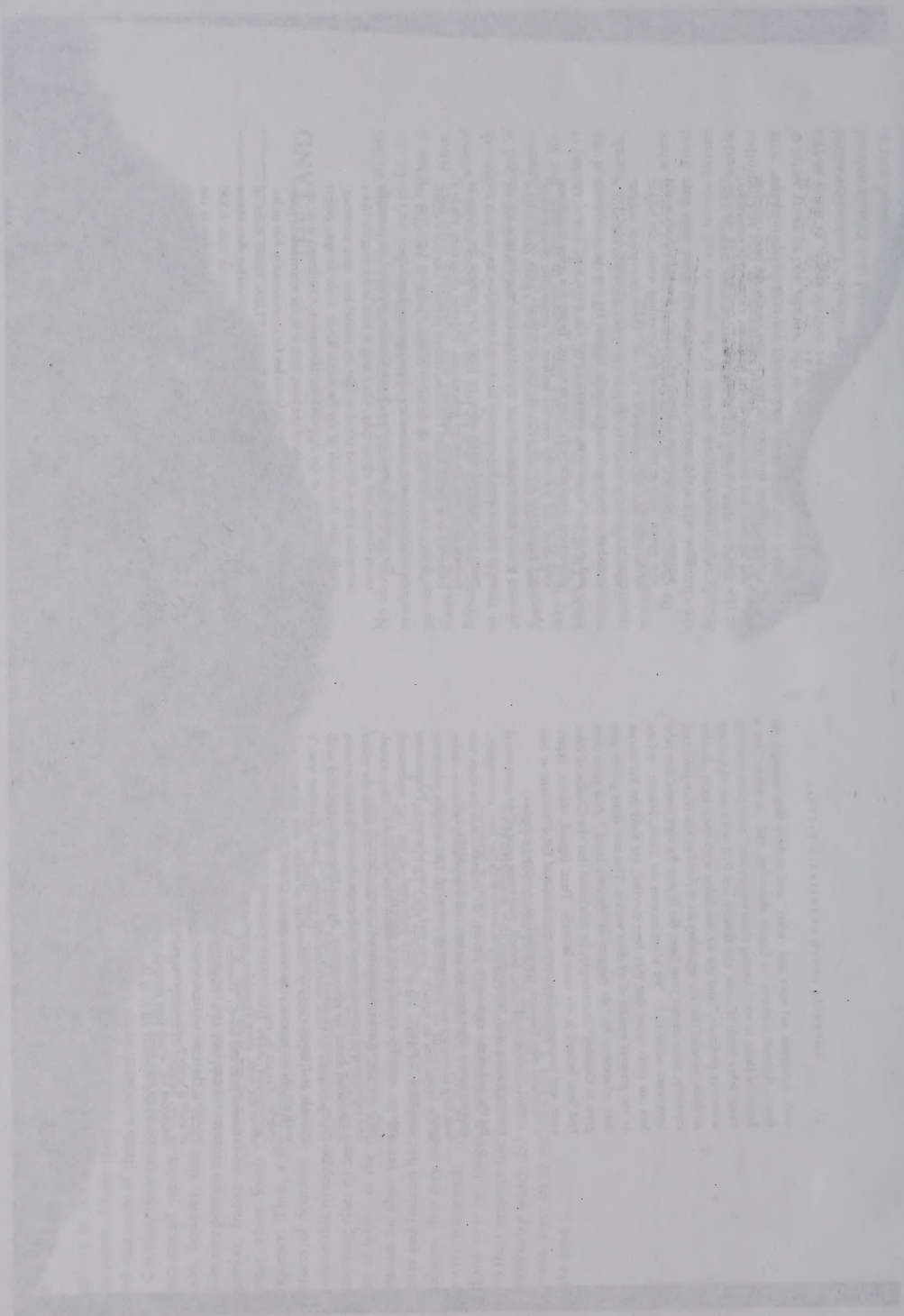
But reality soon intruded. Indeed, men spent most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries coming to terms with the local environment. By the end of the eighteenth century, the boundaries of the state were approximately what they are today, and a reasonably accurate understanding of climate and topography prevailed. Not everyone who wrote about them was an equally keen and accurate observer. Promotional pamphlets, of which many were published in the late seventeenth century, were the equivalent of modern sales brochures. They accordingly provide a good index to the writers' assumptions about the values and aspirations of prospective settlers but not necessarily much accurate information about the environment. As one frequently reprinted work first published in 1682 described the colony, South Carolina was "a pleasant and fertile Country, abounding in health and pleasure, and with all things necessary for the sustenance of mankind." Terms [illegible] chiefly, if at all, by the need to maintain credibility as [illegible] about the area, these pamphlets attempted [illegible] a land of milk and honey. Travelers' accounts [illegible] more reliable, for, as a Virginian observed [illegible] century, "there are no books (the Legend[illegible] so stuff'd with Poetical-Stories, as Voyages [illegible] Countries lie, which they pretend to describe. [illegible] priviledg'd Authors take, in imposing [illegible] the other hand, though perhaps [illegible]

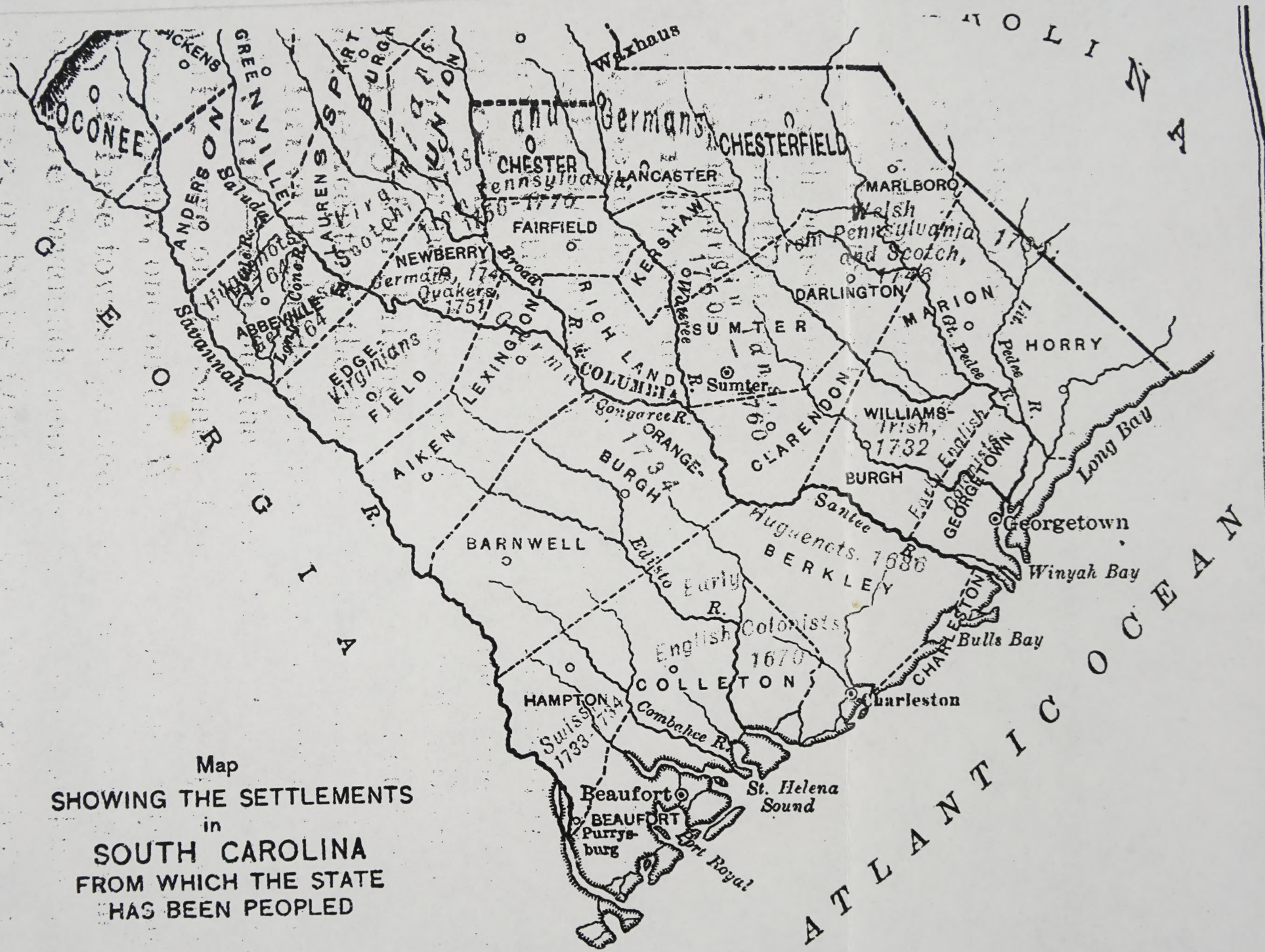
scribed their environment systematically and in detail. As might be expected, official and scientific reports were usually the most complete and accurate, and fortunately for the historian, a number of naturalists, including Mark Catesby and William Bartram, came through South Carolina in the eighteenth century.

What strikes the modern reader most forcibly about these early writings is their attention to details which only a few individuals would now notice, such as the direction of the prevailing winds, the height of the tides, and the consistency of the soil. These observations suggest something which should be obvious but is frequently overlooked in a period of technological and scientific hubris. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, everyone, even the most wealthy and sophisticated, lived relatively close to nature. To say this is not to exhume long dead and properly interred notions of geographic determinism. Few now doubt that what man chooses to do with a given environment is usually more important than the environment itself in shaping his social institutions; but it is easy for an age which has sent men to the moon and returned them safely to forget how narrow the range of options often was for earlier generations. Physical geography made a difference in colonial South Carolina, indeed perhaps more of a difference there than in some of the other colonies where it impinged on the inhabitants more uniformly and perhaps less forcefully.

For a relatively small colony, South Carolina possessed an unusually varied climate and topography. On a map it now looks roughly like a triangular kite or shield tilted so that its coastal base runs northeastwardly from the mouth of the Savannah River while its apex points [illegible] at the Appalachian Mountains. Charleston is at approximately the midpoint of the base; from it to the westernmost point [illegible] coastline stretches for approximately 190 miles. [illegible] roughly over 31,000 square miles or [illegible] what smaller than Maine [illegible] to more than 3,500 [illegible] nine inches in the [illegible] areas


OCONEE
PICKENS
GREENVILLE
ANDERSON
LAURENS
SPARTANBURG
UNION
CHESTER
LANCASTER
CHESTERFIELD
FAIRFIELD
NEWBERRY
KERSHAW
SUMTER
RICHLAND
COLUMBIA
Sumter
LEXINGTON
EDGEFIELD
AIKEN
ORANGEBURG
CLARENDON
BARNWELL
COLLETON
HAMPTON
BEAUFORT
Beaufort
Port Royal
St. Helena Sound
GEORGIA
Savannah R.
Broad R.
Congaree R.
Wateree R.
Combahee R.
Edisto R.
Pennsylvania, 1750-1770
Germans, 1764
Scotch-Irish, 1764
Quakers, 1751
Virginians
Swiss, 1733
English Colonists 1670
Huguenots
Map
SHOWING THE SETTLEMENTS
in
SOUTH CAROLINA
FROM WHICH THE STATE
HAS BEEN PEOPLED





Map
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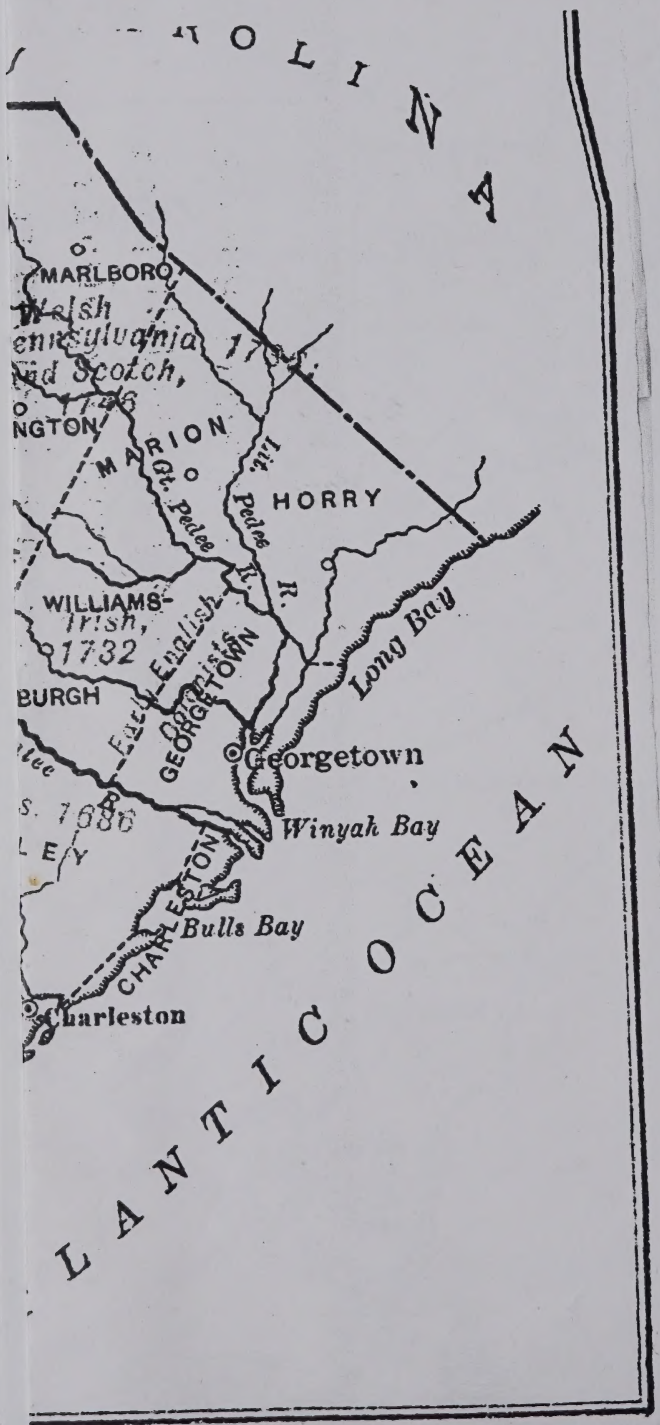
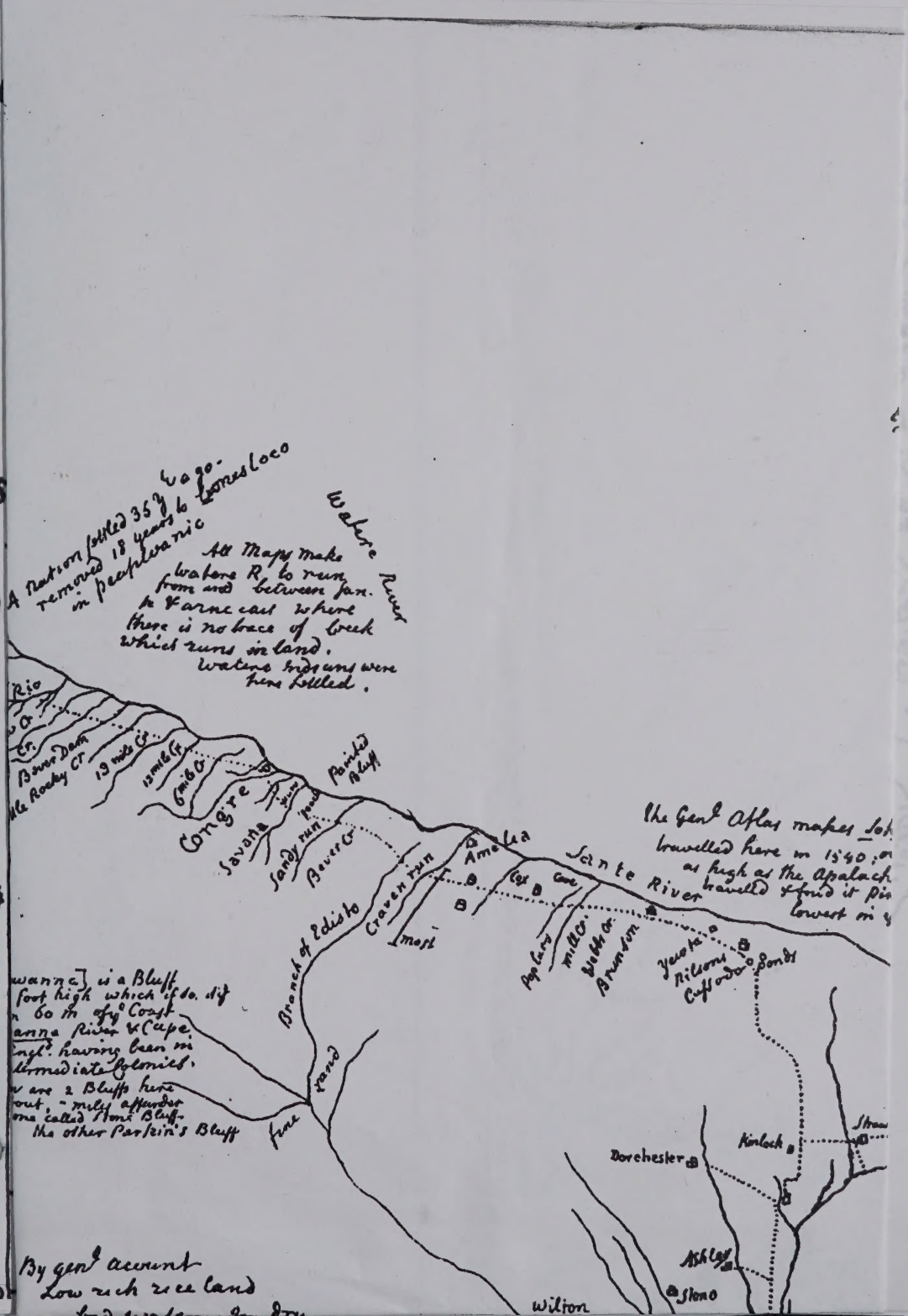
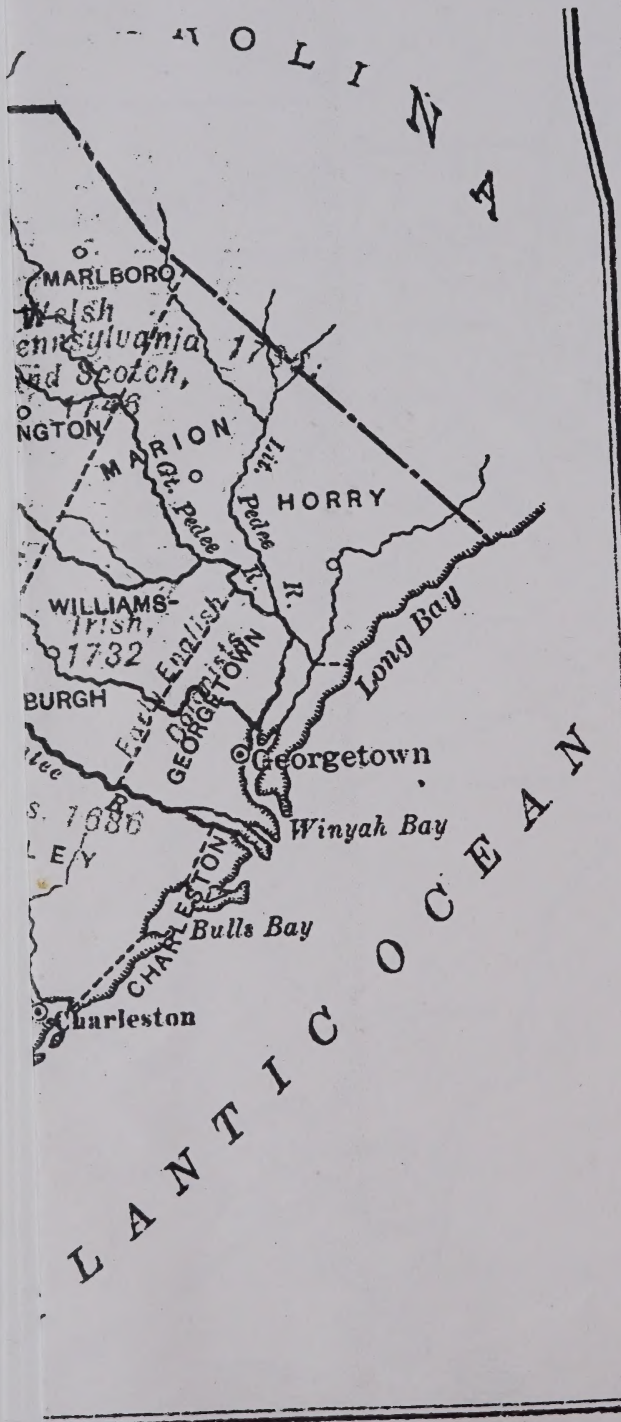
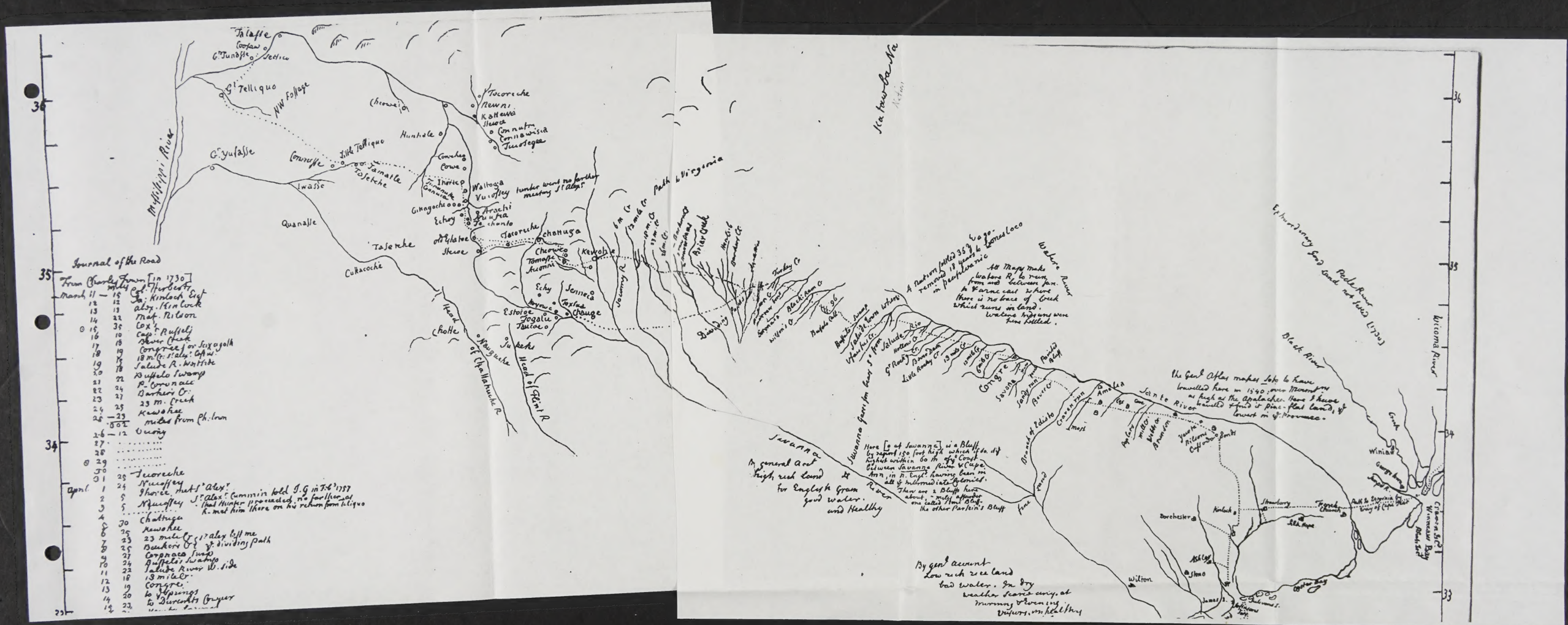
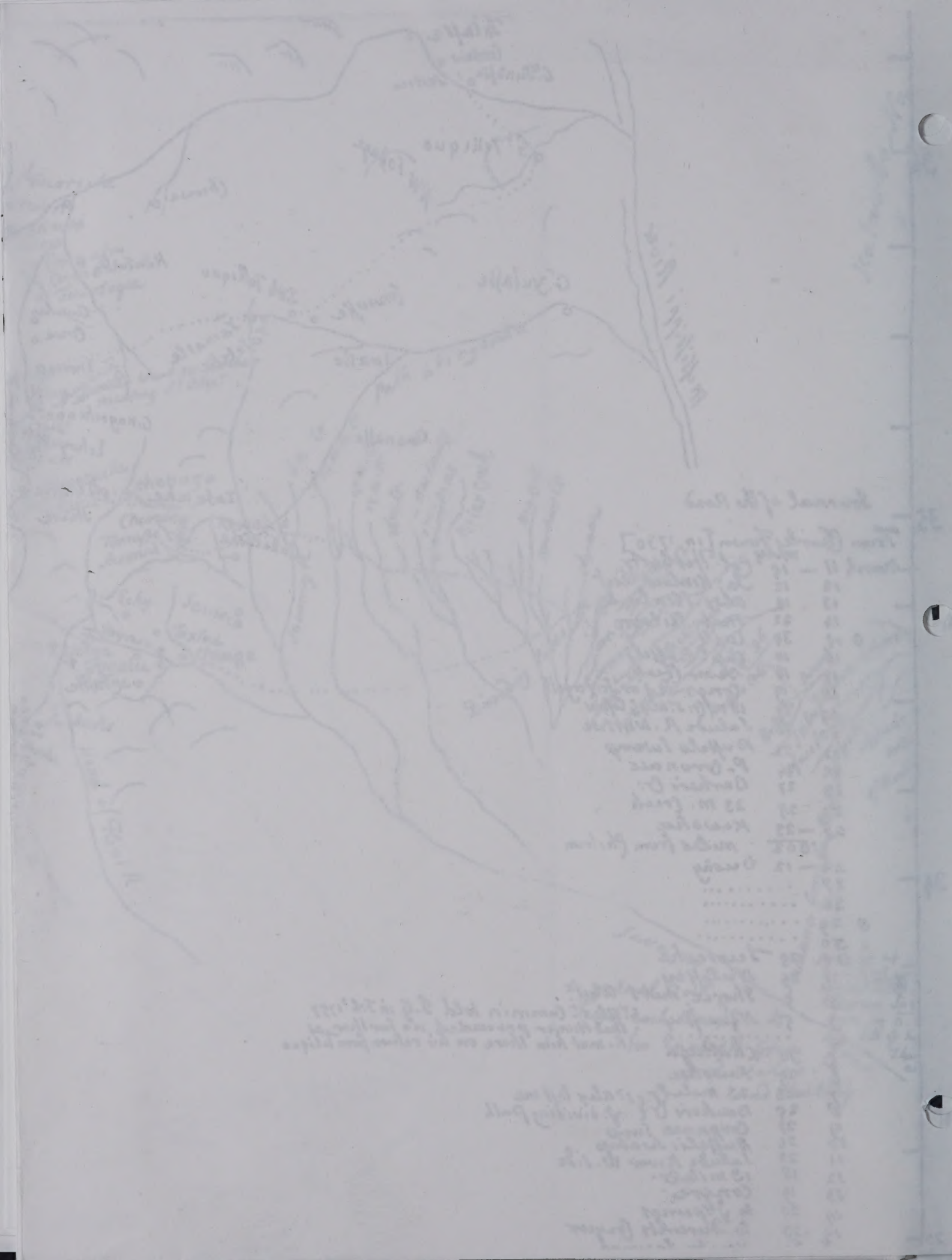

MARLBORO
Welsh
Pennsylvania
and Scotch,
1736
MARION
Lit. Pedee R.
Gt. Pedee R.
HORRY
WILLIAMS-
Irish,
1732
Early English
Long Bay
GEORGETOWN
Georgetown
Winyah Bay
Bulls Bay
CHARLESTON
Charleston
ATLANTIC OCEAN


A Nation settled 35 y ago removed 18 years to Peepleswanic
All Maps make Watree R to run from and between Jan. & Farnecast where there is no trace of Creek which runs inland. Watree Indians were here killed.
Watree River
Rio
Bone Dam
Rocky Cr
13 mile Cr
13 mile Cr
Gaib Cr
Pointed Bluff
Congree
Savana
Sandy run
Beaver Cr
Amelia
Sante River
Branch of Edisto
Craven run
Moss
Pop Lary
mills Cr
Yeaste
Nilsons
Cuffadora
Ponds
Dorchester
Kinloch
Stono
Wilton
The Genl Atlas makes Soto travelled here in 1540; as high as the Apalach travelled & found it pin lowest in
wanna] is a Bluff foot high which if do. lyg n 60 m of Coast anna River & Cape. Engl. having been in Immediate Enemies. w are 2 Bluffs here out, - nigh Attender one called Hons Bluff the other Parkin's Bluff
By genl account Low rich rice land


MARLBORO
Welsh
Pennsylvania 17
Old Scotch,
1736
NGTON
MARION
Gt. Pedee R.
Little Pedee R.
HORRY
WILLIAMS-
Irish,
1732
BURGH
East English
GEORGETOWN
Long Bay
Georgetown
Winyah Bay
S. 1686
L E Y
CHARLESTON
Bulls Bay
Charleston
ATLANTIC OCEAN


Journal of the Road
From Charles Town [in 1730]
Mississippi River
Talasse
Cowfaw
Settico
Gr Tunassee
Gr Telliquo
NW Passage
Chowee
Hunitale
Tocoreche
Newnis
Kattetta
Sticoa
Connatee
Connawisca
Tuscegee
Gr Yufalse
Conneste
Little Telliquo
Tamahle
Tasetche
Iwasse
Conches Cowe
Thrift
Tunnassee Cannacha
Gingagechee
Echoy
Walloga
Yuroffley
Tomotley
Arachi
Jutta
Jechanto
Tocoreche
Chattuga
Kewohee
Tomassee
Sticoa
Quanasse
Cullacoche
Estatoe
Sticoa
Echy
Jerneo
Toxaway
Chewee
Jogalu
Taylor
Jukeys
Head of Chattahuche R
Head of Flint R
Pawgusha
Journey R
Ison Cr
Ismith Cr
Path to Virginia
Briar Creek
Hurricane Cr
Dismal Cr
Turkey Cr
Indian Cr
Wilson's Cr
Nation killed 35 & wounded 18 years ago
Walnut Cr
Wagoo
Jones Loco
Walnut River
All Maps make waters R to run from and between sea & Warne east where there is no trace of such which runs inland. Watkins Indians were then settled.
Saluda
Rio
Watkins
Gr Reedy R
Brown Dear
Little Reedy Cr
13 mile Cr
Congree
Savana
sandy run
Painted Bluff
Beaver Cr
Broads of Edisto
Cawtaw
Amelia
Jeane River
Pedee River
Black River
Winiaw
Georges Swamp
Cypress Swamp
Cypress Chapel
Waccamaw Neck
Waccamaw River
Georgetown
Winnow Bay
Dorchester
Kinlock
Strawberry
Ashley
Stono
Wilton
James I.
Sullivans I.
Savanna
Savanna Garrison
Savanna River
Here [at Savanna] is a Bluff by water 150 feet high which is discernable within 60 M. of the Coast between Savanna River & Cape Ann, in N. Engl. having been in all y intermediate Plantations.
There are 2 Bluffs here about 1 mile apart one called Flint Bluff the other Parkin's Bluff
By gent account Low rich red land bad water. In dry weather scarce any at morning & evening Vapours. unhealthy
The Gent Atlas makes Lote to have travelled here in 1540 over Mountains as high as the Apalachies. Here & hence travelled thro' it Pine-Flat Lands, y lowest in y Province.
Lote's Journey from Port Royal to Pedee River not found [1730]
Indian Path
Ferry
Ferry Road
Path to Virginia
Way of Cape Fear
Ferry Road
Ferry Road
Ferry Road



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The Chronicles of Oklahoma

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THE FATHER OF SEQUOYAH: NATHANIEL GIST

The founder of the Gist family, of Maryland, was Christopher Gist, or Guest, who migrated from England and settled in Maryland on the south side of the Patapsco river in 1682, but removed in 1691 to Baltimore county. He married Edith Cromwell, of the family of the great Oliver Cromwell, lord protector of England. Their son, Richard (1684-1741), was the father of Christopher Gist, who is known in history as explorer of the West in 1750 and as guide of young George Washington in the Ohio river region in 1753 to ascertain the strength of the French. His journal of the expedition is the foundation of much of the early history of the west.

Christopher Gist II married Sarah Howard in Maryland, where three sons were born to them:

First—Richard Gist, Sept. 2, 1729, who was killed in the battle of King's Mountain, 1780.

Second—Nathaniel Gist, our subject, who was born Oct. 15, 1733.

Third—Thomas, who is said to have settled in Kentucky after the Revolutionary war, in which he was a training officer.

Nathaniel Gist bore the name of his father's younger brother, Nathaniel, and in confusion the uncle is by some credited with the adventures of the nephew among the Cherokees. Another brother of Christopher was William Gist.

Young Gist was evidently a visitor, for trade purposes, to the Overhill Cherokees as early as 1753. Manifestly, he was the son

referred to by Christopher Gist in the following excerpt from his *Journal* of 1753, kept while on a tour to the Ohio with Major George Washington: "A messenger came with letters from my son who has just returned from his people at the Cherokees."[1]

In 1754, at the age of 20, Nathaniel Gist was among the Overhill Cherokees. He and another young Virginian, eight years older than he, Richard Pearis, were engaged in the trade to those Indians, Pearis operating from Long Island of the Holston (the present Kingsport) in partnership with Thomas Price.

The goods were supplied by Christopher Gist, who earlier had been in the mercantile business in Baltimore. Having failed in business there, the elder Gist was now in Virginia endeavoring to recoup his fortunes by supplying or backing traders to the Indian tribes. Both Pearis and young Gist looked with longing eyes on the fertile acres of Long Island, and as early as 1754 Pearis preferred a claim to the island with Gov. Dinwiddie, of Virginia. In the spring of that year young Gist bore a message from Gov. Dinwiddie to the Overhill Cherokees asking that they come to the aid of Virginia in the great contest with the French for the possession of the Mississippi Valley. In the summer of the same year Pearis went back to Virginia. "Not having the wherewith to answer his credit, when Pearis came there, one Guest, his merchant, and father to the Guest who was sent into the nation as messenger from Virginia, seized on his leather and denied him any further credit, which obliged him here and there to pick up what goods he could get * * * of inconsiderable value, which he packed in bags, and brought two white men (who fled from Virginia for the press). These he sent into Chote with a letter to Old Hop[2] desiring him to give no credit to Guest or his linguister, Oliver; that they would tell him nothing but lies, and that Guest had stole the governor's

[1] William M. Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals*, 80. It is probable that Nathaniel accompanied his father on the tour of 1751-1752. "My son had the misfortune to have his feet frost-bitten (January 7, 1852)." "My son hunted up the creek (Mar. 1, 1752)." *Ib.* 72, 76.

[2] Emperor of the Cherokees.

letter from him, and he, himself, was the man to have brought it. This letter of Pearis to Old Hop was laughed at."[3]

In fact, Gist bore not only the governor's letter, but also a message from the Indians to the Six Nations in western New York, desiring the Cherokees "as mutual friends of the English to aid in expelling the French."

Pearis did not wish to confront young Gist in Chota, and avoided that town, but went to another, where his Indian wife resided. "Old Hop [the emperor] sent to have Pearis intercepted, and when he was brought in there were high words passed between Pearis and Gist. Old Hop told Pearis to be quiet, and asked him why he had lost his way and passed the town, and whether the governor had sent any message to his woman, and said he could compare him to nothing but a young buck in rutting time who ran hither and thither after a doe."

This quarrel between the two young Virginians in the woods of the Tennessee country was thus reported by Trader Ludovick Grant to Gov. Glen, of South Carolina, and in results it was of consequence. It contributed to the loss of the much needed manpower of the Cherokees to Virginians and the British regulars under Gen. Braddock in meeting the menace of the French and their Indians on the upper reaches of the Ohio. It brought a prompt reprimand of Pearis from Gov. Dinwiddie: "If it had not been for the unseasonable and disagreeable difference between you and Gist, I am fully of opinion they [the Cherokees] would according to former promise have sent some of their warriors before now to join our forces."[4]

More blamable for the defeat of Gen. Braddock and the death of that officer than this private dispute was the adverse attitude of Gov. Glen, in the view of Gov. Dinwiddie, who wrote to Gov. Dobbs, of North Carolina, on July 28, 1755: "If Mr. Glen, agreeable to promise, had prevailed over a number of Cherokee and

[3] *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 266-68.

[4] *Ib.*, II, 76, 77.

Catawba warriors to join our forces we should not in all probability have been defeated, as they would have attacked the Indians in their bush way of fighting, which the regulars are strangers to; but * * * that gentleman had a meeting with those two nations of Indians at the very time they should have joined our forces. He had all along, I think, done everything contrary to his duty and the service of the expedition."[5]

Dinwiddie the same day addressed a sharp letter to Glen, much in the same tone.

Nathaniel Gist returned from Chota to Virginia in time to take part in Braddock's campaign, serving as lieutenant in his father's company of Washington's regiment—the Seventeenth Company Rangers, and he was in the disastrous defeat and rout of the colonial and regular forces under Braddock. Indeed, young Gist had been sent out from the army camp as bearer of the messages to the Overhill Cherokees, and it is a fair inference that Washington sent him or recommended him to Dinwiddie for the mission.

In the following year, 1756, Gist served in his father's company in ranging for the protection of the frontiers of Virginia against the marauding French Indians, unleashed and made bloodthirsty by their defeat of Braddock's army. The estimate of so just a man as Col. Adam Stephen of the Gist-Pearis broil before the Cherokees is preserved in a letter to Col. Washington, of date Nov. 7, 1755: Pearis' pretensions to bring in 200 Cherokees appears to me by advice from a rational person to be only a trick to procure forgiveness and recover the governor's countenance, after so many charges have been lodged against him by Mr. Gist. By a particular and intimate acquaintance of Pearis' it has been acknowledged that he was the principal cause of our not having the Cherokees last spring."[6]

[5] *Ib.*, II, 123.
[6] *Letters to Washington*, I, 123.

In the *Dictionary of American Biography* (Vol. VII), in the sketch of Christopher Gist by W. J. Ghent, the statement is made that "in 1756, he [Christopher Gist] went to the Cherokee country in East Tennessee in the vain effort to enlist Indians for service, and for a time he was an Indian agent in that locality."

The journey of the son is here attributed to the father. That the father remained at the north during the period of the son's stay among the Overhill Cherokees is clearly traceable in the *Dinwiddie Papers* and in the *Letters to Washington*. Christopher Gist was kept busy there in collecting supplies for the projected expedition of Braddock. No record has been found by the writer of the presence of the elder Gist in East Tennessee. It is also manifest that Nathaniel Gist was not in the decade of 1754-1764 an Indian agent among the Cherokees. That tribe was under South Carolina's management until Indian affairs passed to direct British control—first to Edmund Atkin as chief agent at the south. In 1757 the younger Gist was, for meritorious services, given by the governor of Virginia the pay and title of captain—the same title being the father's, and that fact doubtless has led to the confusion and erroneous statements.[7]

Nathaniel Gist was delegated assistant under Atkin to take care of 200 Cherokees then in Virginia to aid that colony in the recovery of ground and prestige lost in 1755. No doubt this designation of Gist was due to his acquaintance with these Indians, but the service was not rendered by him in East Tennessee. He is said to have led those Indian auxiliaries in the successful campaign of Gen. Forbes in 1758.

It is interesting to see the estimate placed by Col. Washington on the value of Cherokee auxiliaries from the Tennessee country. In September, 1756, he wrote Gov. Dinwiddie: "Those Indians who are coming should be shown all possible respect and the greatest care taken of them. It is a critical time, they are very

[7] *Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 669, 671.

humorsome, and their assistance very necessary. One false step might lose us all that, and even turn them against us."

And in June, 1758, when preparations were in progress for Gen. Forbes' expedition against Fort Duquesne, Washington wrote Gen. Forbes: "Indians I conceive to be the best if not only troops fit to cope with the Indians [of the French] in such grounds. * * * They are to us of the utmost importance. I suggest the idea of sending a proper person immediately to the Cherokee nation, who may not only heal the differences which now subsist, but get a body of them to join the army in their march, and no person sure has the interest of our important cause at heart would hesitate a moment to engage in such a service, on the event of which our all, in a manner, depends."

Two days before, Forbes had written to the great English statesman, William Pitt, of the Cherokees, then with him and his regulars: "If they leave us we shall lose the best part of our strength as all northern Indians, mostly our enemies, were kept in awe by the presence of so many Cherokees."[8]

Summers, in his *History of Southwest Virginia,* gives a glimpse of Nathaniel Gist and Daniel Boone in 1760: "About the same time Daniel Boone, accompanied by several hunters, visited the Holston and camped the first night in what is now known as Taylor's valley. On the succeeding day they hunted down the South Fork of Holston and traveled thence to what was thereafter known as Wolf Hill (Abingdon). Boone and his companion * * * disagreed and separated, Boone taking the Indian trail to the Long Island, and Nathaniel Gist, his companion, following the Indian trail to Cumberland Gap."

Relying, in part, upon this datum, Albert V. Goodpasture, a thorough investigator and most competent historian, in his "Paternity of Sequoyah,"[9] advances the contention that, after this hunting trip, Gist went to the Cherokee towns on the Little Tennessee river and there formed a temporary alliance with a Cherokee maiden in 1760-61, the result of which was the birth of the great Sequoyah.

[8] June 17, 1758. Kimball (ed.) *Correspondence of Wm. Pitt,* II, 279.
[9] *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* I, 12. *et seq.*

Goodpasture reinforces the argument by citing the facts that in Gist's petition to the legislature of Virginia asking confirmation of his title to Long Island of Holston from the Cherokees he represented that he had obtained it in 1761, thus evidencing his presence among the Indians in that year. It is difficult to follow this thesis. There was war flagrant, and hotly so, between the Cherokees and the whites of Virginia and the Carolinas in 1760-61, leading up to and including the massacre of the garrison of Fort Loudoun-on-Tennessee. In all the communications and publicity incident to those fateful happenings the presence of Gist is nowhere indicated. In point of fact, he was in active service with the Byrd-Stephen regiment of Virginians, as one of the captains, and that regiment was marching against those Indians.[10] The regiment under Col. Stephen built Fort Robinson opposite the Long Island, and did not proceed further, peace having been made.

If Gist obtained from the Indians a cession of Long Island it must have been when they came in to treat for peace at Fort Robinson, and not in their country below. Henry Timberlake and Thomas Sumter, of the command, did volunteer to venture there, Col. Stephen not being willing to command such a dangerous service; but nowhere from records does it appear, and it is altogether unlikely, that Gist went to the Overhill towns under the conditions prevailing.

While dissenting from the proposition that Sequoyah was born in 1760-61, this writer is in accord with Goodpasture in the belief that Capt. Gist was the father of that greatest of red Tennesseans. The probabilities point to the period of the early 1770's as being the time of Sequoyah's birth.

[10] The fact is shown by much documentary evidence. See Williams, "Fort Robinson-on-Holston," in *East Tennessee Historical Society Publication,* IV, 22-32.

A valuable document is a biographical sketch of Sequoyah dictated to the poet, John Howard Payne, while the latter was for quite a time, in 1835, among the Cherokees.[11] The dictation was by Maj. Lowry, a mixed-blood cousin of Sequoyah, Mike Waters, a brother-in-law, and The Bark, the last named a warrior who was a close associate of Sequoyah in his youth. This manuscript sketch is entitled, "The Life of George Gist"—not Guess or Guest. In Payne's language it states: "I was informed that in 1835, the year I made the inquiry, Gist's age was about 60. He left the nation with the Arkansas emigrants from it about eleven years ago." This would place the date of Sequoyah's birth, approximately, in 1775. Another intelligent observer who saw Sequoyah before his removal to the West is in practical accord.[12]

Sequoyah's syllabary was completed in 1821, and his age then reckoned to have been "about 40." His oldest child, Teesey, was born in 1789. Sequoyah died in the town of San Fernando, Tamaulipas, Mexico, in August, 1843, after a long and trying journey westward in quest of a lost band of his countrymen. It is difficult to conceive of such a task being undertaken by a man 83 years of age, who had from childhood been a cripple from "white swelling" of the knee joint.

That Nathaniel Gist was the father of Sequoyah is consonant with all of many probabilities; that a wandering German peddler from Georgia was such, in 1770, as claimed and stated by Foster in his *Sequoyah,* is unbelievable. It may be that, to shield Gist, that story was advanced, even by his mother and her family. Guess, the peddler, has not been traced in the archives of Georgia or South Carolina. It would be a remarkable coincidence had there been two men by the name of Gist or Guest among the Overhill Cherokees in the same half decade, when very few white men were to be found there.

11 Payne Papers in Ayres Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

12 Emmet Starr, the Cherokee historian, says that Sequoyah died at the age of seventy-five. *History of the Cherokees,* 45. A boyhood friend of Sequoyah, Charles Hicks, one-time chief of the Nation was born 1767—not 1760.

John Mason Brown, of the Louisville bar, one of the greatest lawyers of Kentucky in his day, was a descendant of Nathaniel Gist; and he in a letter preserved in the Bureau of Ethnology, at Washington, stated that Sequoyah had visited the Gist family in Kentucky and was recognized by the descendants as a natural son of Gist. Mrs. Mary Cary (Cratz) Morton, a granddaughter of the Gist still living, states that the family tradition is that Sequoyah once visited Lexington looking up his Gist relatives.[13] This visit may have been in 1828, as Sequoyah was going to or returning from Washington as one of the Cherokee delegation to treat with the authorities in the capital city.

The mother of Sequoyah, Wut-teh of the Paint clan, was a member of one of the leading Cherokee families, and not, therefore, likely to consort with a strolling peddler. The "Life" in the Payne manuscripts states:

"The family of Gist, on the Indian side (the mother's), was of high rank in the nation. The famous John Watts[14] was one of them. Two of his uncles were men of great distinction: One of the two was named Tahlonteeske (the overthrower)[15] and the other Kahn-yah-tah-hee (the first to kill). Kahn-yah-tah-hee[16] was the principal chief of old Echota (Chota as known to the English), the ancient town of refuge over which he presided. He was called the Beloved Chief of all the people. It was his exclusive duty and delight to be a peace-preserver.

"During some public assembly there was an onset of the whites —notwithstanding it was a time of profound peace—and all the

13 Letter of Judge S. M. Wilson, of Lexington, Ky., the Kentucky historian, to the writer, respecting an interview with Mrs. Morton.

14 His father, John Watts, Sr., is said to have been of the garrison of Fort Loudoun when the fort was surrendered, 1761, but this is believed to be erroneous. The father was among the Overhill Cherokees before that fort was constructed in 1756-57, and no doubt was a trader. He was skilled enough in the Cherokee language to act as interpreter in the treaty of Augusta, Ga., 1763. *N. C. Col. Rec.* XI, 179; *Calendar of Tennessee papers* (Draper Collection), '81.

15 Or Talontuski, Taluntiski or Tollunteeskee. He was a brother of Chief John Jolly.

16 Commonly called by the Americans The Tassell. For Tatham's account of him in 1777: Williams, *William Tatham, Wataugan,* 23, and *History of the Lost State of Franklin,* 75-77.

Indians fled excepting Kahn-yah-tah-hee and another chief of whom there was some distrust in the nation. They were both in the square where the ceremonial had been gone through. Kahn-yah-tah-hee arose from his seat, and with a white flag waving, met the marauders as they broke into the square. Both chiefs were murdered brutally on the spot."

A number of white men among the Overhill Cherokees as traders were at Sycamore Shoals of Watauga in March, 1775, when Richard Henderson and associates purchased of the Cherokees large portions of Kentucky and Tennessee. Nathaniel Gist was present.

From the Cherokee country Gist in 1775 made a visit to West Florida, returning from the Mobile region when the Revolution in the South was passing into the active stage. He journeyed northward in company with Henry Stuart, deputy agent under the British, the better known Col. John Stuart being his brother and the principal agent to the Southern Indian tribes. On reaching the Tennessee river the party took water carriage towards the site of Chattanooga. Chief Dragging Canoe had been south to confer with the Stuarts and, having returned, was now patiently awaiting the arrival of Henry Stuart at the Tennessee. Stuart wrote his brother John that the party "met at the Tenassy some white people who had come down the river in order to settle on the Mississippi" —evidently in the Natchez district. Also of Capt. Gist that he was "well acquainted with the new settlements" on the Watauga and Nolachucky rivers and had informed young Stuart that "the settlers were very numerous."

On reaching the Cherokee towns the part played by Capt. Gist was, to say the least, equivocal and it led to deep resentment on the part of the Wataugans when they learned of it. He was, indeed, in close quarters. As a trader he must have had money owing to him from the Indians and he must have felt that his claim to the fertile Long Island should be conserved, if at all practicable. Gist knew of the plan of the younger warriors under the influence of Dragging Canoe to attack the white settlers on the Holston, Watauga, and Nolachucky.

There was a group of Tories in the Brown settlement on the Nolachucky. Capt. Gist, as Henry Stuart narrates, "offered to undertake to give them [these settlers with Tory leaning] notice if he could get four white men that know the woods and some Indians" to accompany him. One of these white traders was Jarret Williams. "The very night before they were to set out the four that were chosen to go ran away; they were all Virginians, which was likely to prove fatal to the white people who remained. All the white people in the nation thought that the only security they could now have for their safety was to go with the Indians."

Jarret Williams, a Wataugan originally from Virginia, when he reached the Watauga settlement gave information "that Alexander Cameron informed that he had concluded to send Capt. Nathaniel Guest, Williams Faulin, Isaac Williams and himself with the Indians till they came to the Nolachucky; that they were to stop and Guest and the other white men, above mentioned, were to go to see if there were any king's men among the inhabitants and, if they found any, they were to take them off to the Indians or have a white signal in their hands or otherwise to distinguish them. When this was done they were to fall on the inhabitants and kill or drive away all they possibly could."

Henry Stuart had endeavored to persuade or compel the settlers in what is now upper East Tennessee to move off of their lands to West Florida, promising that the Cherokees would permit of their safe passage down the rivers. In one of his written messages to the settlers he thus referred to Capt. Gist; "Capt. Gist has been all over West Florida and from what we know of that country we venture to recommend it to you as a very fit country for your poor people."

Dr. P. M. Hamer in a contribution to the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* without citing authority on the particular point,

states that Gist was at the time in the pay of Cameron, assistant British agent to the Cherokees, and that "for the purpose of protecting loyalists and women and children he accompanied the Indians in their attacks on the Wataugans." Gist, at least, did not leave the Indians for his home in Virginia. But his later claim or explanation was, no doubt, that the projected plan to leave the Redmen and go to the Tories on the Nolachucky was in order to get away to Virginia, that the plan failed when the white traders escaped from the Indian towns, and that his only safety was to go forward with the warriors. As we shall see, his explanation was satisfactory to such a patriot as Maj. Evan Shelby, and he was supported by a white trader to the Cherokees, Isaac Thomas. Too, as we shall later see, in the following year Gist wrote to the Cherokees reminding them that he had on this occasion, in 1776, warned them, before they went to war against the whites, against the step.

When, after the three contemporaneous attacks on the upper country settlers at Island Flats, on the Watauga and in Carter's valley, and in the latter part of the same year Col. William Christian began his retaliatory campaign against the Cherokees, his instructions from Gov. Patrick Henry were to insist upon the Indians "giving up to justice all persons amongst them who had been concerned in bringing on the present war, particularly Stewart [Stuart], Cameron and Gist."

When Christian, on the march towards the Cherokee towns, reached the French Broad river, Gist came in from the Indian side under a flag of truce to the camp of the colonel. He reported that 1,000 of the Cherokees from the Carolina side of the mountains had joined the Overhills, who would not give battle until the troops crossed the Little Tennessee. Christian wrote to Gov. Henry: (Oct. 15, 1776) "I judge the flag was only an excuse for him to get with me. I believe he is sorry for what he has done. I did intend to put him in irons, but the manner of his coming I believe will prevent me. The officers tell me that the camp is in great

confusion about him; some think that there are many favorable circumstances attending him; many are for killing him—of the last the greatest part. I spoke but little to him and don't know whether he wants to go back or not."

Two of the soldiers under Col. Christian left accounts of this incident. Benjamin Sharp stated that the bordermen "were so exasperated at him that almost every one that mentioned his name would threaten his life, yet Christian conveyed him through the settlements unmolested, and he went to the headquarters of Washington, where I presume the former friendship was renewed. He became a zealous whig." John Redd stated that "when Gist first came in to Christian he was viewed in a very suspicious light; he was thought to be a spy. But the prejudice against him soon wore off and he became very popular."

Gist went to Virginia and promptly laid a memorial before the governor and the council of state. The order entered by the council, Dec. 17, 1776, as is follows:

"Capt. Nathaniel Gist having presented a memorial to the Governor lamenting the suspicions which he fell under with several of his countrymen, as having acted an inimical part against America by aiding and abetting the Cherokees in their late hostile conduct and desiring his excellency and the council would make inquiry into the same, as a preparatory step either to his acquital or consign punishment, the board accordingly considered the several depositions transmitted by Col. Christian to the governor and which had been laid before the general assembly, and moreover examined Col. William Russell, Maj. Evan Shelby and Isaac Thomas, upon oath; and, upon the whole matter are of opinion that Capt. Gist is a friend of his country and was acting in that character most effectually when he was suspected of encouraging the Indian hostilities."[17]

[17] McIlwaine (ed.) *Official Letters of Governors of Virginia*, I, 78, 184, 186.

It no doubt gratified Gen. Washington to have the record of an old friend thus cleared; and on Jan. 11, 1777, Gist was appointed a colonel of a regiment in the continental line. The newly-made colonel was sent south by Washington to use his influence in bringing the Cherokees into the promised treaty at Fort Patrick Henry, Long Island. Arriving at the island on March 28, Gist sent by an Indian messenger a talk to the chiefs, a copy of which is to be found in the Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.

A number of the friendlier chiefs, in accordance with a promise to Col. Christian, came to the island to treat in April, but Dragging Canoe sullenly held back. Gist then went to Chota with some of the chiefs who did attend; and returned with them to Fort Patrick Henry on the date to which adjournment had been taken, arriving on June 28. At the request of the commissioners of Virginia and North Carolina he sent a second message to Dragging Canoe urging him to come in, but without success. The treaty proceeded, Gist sitting in council "on business from Gen. Washington." He was influential in bringing the results desired by Virginia and North Carolina. Col. Christian as one of Virginia's commissioners in an address to the Indians said:

"At our last meeting in April at this place, a letter from our great warrior, Gen. Washington, was delivered to his brother, Oconostota, by one of his war captains and our friend, Col. Gist. By this letter you were invited to send some of your young men to our general's camp. You know the pains and trouble he [Gist] has been at and how careful he has been to you in bringing about a happy peace; and he has long been a friend to your nation."

The Tassel (Kahn-yah-tah-hee), uncle of the Indian consort of Gist, replied:

"Here is my friend and brother (pointing to Col. Gist) whom I look upon as one of my own people. He is going to leave me and travel into a far country, but I hope he'll return. Here is one of my people, the Pidgeon, that will accompany him, but I do not know of many more that will. He was once over the great water[18] where he could not see which way he was going; but this journey will be all by land and he will think nothing of the fatigue."

At the end of the treaty negotiated at Fort Patrick Henry in 1777, above the signatures, appears this "memorandum before signing":

"The Tassel yesterday objected against giving up the Great [Long] Island opposite to Fort Henry to any person or country whatever except Col. Gist, for whom and themselves it was reserved by the Cherokees. The Raven did the same this day in behalf of the Indians and desired that Col. Gist sit down upon it when he pleased, as it belongs to him, and them, to hold good talks on."

Col. Gist aided while on the treaty ground in celebrating the first July 4 anniversary ever held in Tennessee. An entry on the Journal shows:

"July 4 the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was observed. The soldiers belonging to the garrison were paraded and fired two rounds, each in six platoons, and for the 13th one general volley. The great guns were also fired * * * The young warriors then closed the entertainment with a dance."

Col. Gist took with him to Virginia seventeen Cherokee warriors, including The Pidgeon, who were embodied in his command, the regiment being assigned to its first duty on the east shore of that state. Gist, in 1778, was an advocate of a fuller use of Indians in the American army.

The career of Gist in the Revolutionary War was a creditable one. For a time he was in command of Red Stone Fort in Pennsylvania; he campaigned in South Carolina. When Charleston was

[18] With Henry Timberlake in 1765. Williams, *Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake, passim.*

captured by the British, he was made a prisoner of war. He was retired Jan. 1, 1781.

In 1793 he removed from Virginia to Kentucky, where for services rendered as a soldier he had received a grant of 7,000 acres of the finest blue grass land.

A valuable sidelight is thrown upon the problem dealt with in this paper by the narration of Gen. James Taylor, of Kentucky, found in the Draper Collection:

"When I was moving out to Kentucky in the spring of '93 I left my company some distance before we reached Redstone (now Brownsville). I understood Col. Gist had arrived with a large number of slaves and was encamped about a half mile above the creek from which the old fort had taken its name. I called on Col. Gist at his encampment. I found him sitting under his markee which, no doubt, had protected him and his brother officers from the storms of many a cold and dreary night. He was a venerable looking man, I should think near 60 years of age; stout-framed and about six feet high and of a dark complexion. It was the first time I had seen him, but, on making myself known to him, he informed me he was well acquainted with my father and had served, I think, in the Virginia legislature or in the state convention together, and perhaps in both.

"While I was with him a good looking youth, who appeared to me about 16 or 17 years of age, come to the markee and was invited in. He was dressed in home-spun clothes, quite neat and was a fine, tall, well-looking youth. He appeared to wish to say something to the Colonel. At length he inquired if he had any business with him or wanted to say anything to him; and the colonel inquired his name. 'My name is Gist, sir,' said the young lad. 'Aye,' said the colonel, 'and who is your father?' 'Why, sir,' says he, 'I am told you are my father.' 'Ah, indeed,' says the colonel,' and who is your mother? Betsy—Oh, very likely it may be so then; I was well acquainted with a girl of that name some years ago when I commanded Redstone fort. The young man appeared somewhat embarrassed and the colonel appeared somewhat stumped, and I concluded to take my leave as it might be more agreeable to have their conference alone on that delicate subject.

"I met the Hon. John Breckenridge moving out with his family. He was well acquainted with Col. G., and said he was a great gallant in his younger days. I should not have mentioned Col. G's name in this narration, but a few years ago I named it to one of Col. G's family and inquired of the person if they had any knowledge of the young man. They said they had; that he had moved to the West and had become wealthy; that the whole family had recognized him as a near relative and that he had rendered the family many important services."

On his Kentucky grant Col. Gist established his home, "Canewood," which was to become noted for the beauty of its embellishment and for its hospitality. He died there about the close of the War of 1812.

After the close of the Revolution, 1783, he married Judith Cary Bell, a grandniece of Archibald Cary, mover of the bill of rights in the Virginia House of Burgesses. The daughters of the couple married distinguished men. Sarah Howard Gist married Jesse Bledsoe, a United States senator from Kentucky, characterized by Henry Clay as the most formidable man he ever met at the bar in Kentucky; Anne Cary Gist married Dr. Joseph Boswell; Eliza Gist married Francis Preston Blair, and they were parents of Montgomery Blair, a member of Lincoln's cabinet, and Francis Preston Blair, Jr., who was a United States senator from Missouri and a brigadier-general in the Civil War; and Maria C. Gist married Benjamin Gratz, a wealthy citizen of Lexington.

Francis P. Blair, Jr., was the Democratic candidate for the vice-presidency on the ticket with Seymour in 1868; and B. Gratz Brown was the democratic candidate for the same office running with Horace Greeley in 1872.

Missouri has placed in Statuary hall, in the capitol at Washington, the statue of F. P. Blair, Jr.; Oklahoma has placed in the same place the statue of Sequoyah. So that if Sequoyah was the son of Nathaniel Gist, the latter is without serious doubt the only man to have two descendants named by sovereign states as representatives in the Hall of Fame.

That the family of Gist produced virile and able men is further shown by the facts that Mordecai Gist, a cousin of Nathaniel, was a general in the Revolutionary War; and William H. Gist was Civil War governor of South Carolina. Joseph Gist represented South Carolina in Congress.

The Tennessee Gists were from the neighborhood of the Moravian town of Salem, N. C., and evidently descendants of William Gist, brother of Christopher Gist, who for a time lived on the nearby Yadkin river. Benjamin Gist was one of the first justices of Washington county, 1777, and it was, perhaps, through visits to him that Nathaniel Gist became acquainted with the Watauga settlers. Joshua Gist, son of Benjamin, was a member of the constitutional convention of the state of Franklin and one of the two assistant judges of that "lost state." Benjamin, and almost certainly Joshua, was under Sevier in the Battle of King's Mountain. These Gists were early settlers of Sevier county.

Where, it may well be asked, are there descendants of the mythical Guess of Georgia? If there was such a person, where can there be found in his line any, not to say such, evidences of transmitted force and ability?

—Samuel C. Williams

Johnson City, Tennessee.

The Little Tennessee River is now so clammed up that most of the Old Cherokee villages are under water!

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INDIAN WARS AND WARRIORS OF THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1730-1807.

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CHAPTER I.

ATTAKULLAKULLA AND OCONOSTOTA.

The Cherokees adhere to the English; some of their warriors killed by the Virginians; they take satisfaction in the Carolinas; Governor Lyttleton declares war against them; their peace envoys are imprisoned, and subsequently massacred; Colonel Montgomery's campaign against their Middle towns. 1730-1760.

The Cherokee Indians first became known to the white man in 1540, when the daring Spanish adventurer, Fernando De Soto, entered their country in his fruitless search for gold. They were the mountaineers of the south, and held all the Alleghany region from southwest Virginia to northern Georgia, their principal towns being on the headwaters of the Savannah, Hiwassee, and Tuckasegee, and upon the whole course of the Little Tennessee River, grouped in three main settlements, known as the Lower towns, the Middle or Valley towns, and the Overhill towns. Their hunting ground, whose boundaries were vague and shadowy, and in many places contested, may be said, in a general way, to have embraced all the extensive domain encircled by the Ohio and Tennessee rivers, including the blue grass regions of Kentucky and Tennessee which the Indians called the "dark and bloody ground."[1]

Their men were large, tall, and robust; in complexion somewhat lighter than the men of the neighboring tribes; while some of their young women were nearly as fair and blooming as European maidens. Their dispositions and manners were grave and steady; their deportment dignified and circumspect. In conversation they were rather slow and reserved, yet frank

[1] Myths of the Cherokee. By James Mooney, p. 14.

and cheerful; in council, secret, deliberate, and determined. Like all true mountaineers, they stood ready to sacrifice every pleasure and gratification, even life itself, to the defense of their homes and hunting grounds.[2]

Early in the struggle between France and England for commercial and territorial supremacy in America, the French conceived the scheme of detaching the Indians from England by means of a strong cordon of military posts, extending through the Ohio and Mississippi valleys from Canada to Louisiana. In 1714 they built Fort Toulouse, on the Coosa River, a few miles above the present Montgomery, Alabama. From this southern stronghold they rapidly extended their influence among the neighboring tribes until it was estimated that three thousand four hundred warriors, who had formerly traded with Carolina, had gone over to France, two thousand were wavering, and only the Cherokees could be considered friendly to the English.[3]

To check this growing influence of the French, Governor Nicholson, of South Carolina, held a treaty of peace and commerce with the Cherokees in 1721. Afterwards the Royal government took the matter up with a view of drawing them into a closer alliance. For this purpose Sir Alexander Cumming was sent to the Cherokee Nation in the spring of 1730, and met the chiefs of all their towns in the council house at Nequassee, on the Little Tennessee River, near the present town of Franklin, North Carolina. He so impressed them by his bold bearing and haughty address that they readily consented to all his wishes, acknowledging themselves, on bended knee, to be the dutiful subjects of King George. He nominated Moytoy, of Tellico, to be their emperor, a piece of trumpery invented by Governor Nicholson nine years before, which was wholly without effect, as the Cherokee Nation made no pretense to a regular government until nearly one hundred years later.[4] However, it was agreed to, and they repaired to their capital, Tennessee, a few miles above the mouth of Tellico, on the Little Tennessee River, where a symbol, make of five eagle tails and four scalps of their enemies, which Sir Alexander called the crown of the nation, was brought forth, and he was requested to lay it at the feet of his sovereign on his return.[5]

[2]Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulgees or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Choctaws. By William Bartram, pp. 482-3.

[3]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, p. 35.

[4]Opinions of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. The State vs. James Foreman, Nashville, 1835, pp. 34-5.

[5]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 46-7; Drake's Indians of North America, 15th edition, pp. 366-7.

The mention by Sir Alexander Cumming of "Tennessee" as the ancient capital of the Cherokees, is the first time the name occurs in history; from it, and not from any fancied resemblance to a "big spoon," the Tennessee River and the State of Tennessee derive their name.[6]

Seven chiefs accompanied Sir Alexander on his return to England, and there again entered into a formal treaty of friendship, alliance, and commerce with the English. Among these chiefs were two young men who deserve to rank among the greatest leaders of their race; they were Attakullakulla,[7] known to the whites as Little Carpenter, and Oconostota, whom the whites called the Great Warrior. The brilliancy, wealth, and power of the English Court made a powerful impression upon them. Attakullakulla perceived with appalling force the defenselessness of his own people as against such an adversary. It became the ruling purpose of his life, chimerical as it was, to keep his nation at peace with the English. Profiting by his friendly disposition, the authorities of South Carolina took up Attakullakulla, and magnified his authority, in order to break the power and influence of Oconostota.[8] For fifty years he stood out between the contending races, a sublime and, often, a solitary figure, ever pleading, conciliating, pacifying. He was the grandest and most amiable leader developed by his race; and I doubt whether a nobler character, of any race, could have been found on the border.

Though he came of a race of large men, Attakullakulla was remarkably small, and of slender and delicate frame; but he was endowed with superior abilities.[9] He did little to distinguish himself in war, but his policy and address were such as to win for him the confidence and admiration of his people. He was the leading diplomat of his nation, and conducted some of the most delicate missions with singular tact and sagacity.

Oconostota, on the contrary, was a daring and resourceful general, whose achievements won for him the title of the "Great Warrior." It is said that in all his expeditions his measures were so prudently taken that he never lost a man.[10] Under his leadership the Cherokees reached their highest martial glory. Less diplomatic than Attakullakulla, he was more bold and aggressive, and, at first, hoped by forcible resistance to stay the flood of immigration that was threatening to over-

[6]Ramsey, p. 47, note.

[7]Hewat's Historical Account of South Carolina and Georgia, Vol. 2, p. 221.

[8]Adair's American Indians, p. 81.

[9]Bartram's Travels, p. 482.

[10]Timberlake's Memoirs, p. 72.

whelm his country. I know not which course was the wiser; neither could do more than retard the progress of the whites. The inexorable decree had gone forth that the Indian should perish, as the mound builder before him had perished.

Although the seven years' struggle between France and England, known in America as the French and Indian War, was not formally declared until 1756, hostilities actually began in April, 1754, when the French seized the English post at Pittsburg, which they afterwards completed under the name of Fort Duquesne. To make sure of the co-operation of their Cherokee allies at this juncture, the English determined to profit by the example of the French, and build forts among them. With this view, Governor Glen, of South Carolina, met Attakullakulla on the treaty ground in 1755, and obtained permission to build two forts in the Cherokee country.[11]

Soon after this cession Governor Glen built Fort Prince George, on the headwaters of the Savannah River, three hundred miles above Charleston, and within gun-shot of the Indian town of Keowee, in the lower settlement. In 1756 the Earl of Loudoun was appointed commander-in-chief of the army throughout the British provinces in America, and the same year he despatched Major Andrew Lewis to build the second fort authorized by the Cherokee treaty. Major Lewis located it just above the mouth of Tellico, on the south side of the Little Tennessee River, in the midst of the Overhill towns, within five miles of Chota, at that time the capital of the Cherokee Nation, and nearly one hundred and fifty miles in advance of any white settlement.[12] A British historian[13] asserts that the establishment of these forts was the result of a deep laid scheme on the part of the Cherokees, persisted in with unexampled policy for many years, for the purpose of gaining hostages from the English; which, he says, they had the sagacity to perceive would be the effect of small garrisons located in the midst of populous Indian towns, hundreds of miles removed from their base of supplies, and their hope of succor. While this clearly was not contemplated by the Indians, these forts offered them inviting objects of attack when they became involved in war with their former allies.

The Overhill towns, scattered along the grassy valleys and sunny slopes that skirt the southern bank of the Little Tennessee, were the remotest and most important of the Cherokee settlements. Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, a young Virginia soldier, who spent the winter of 1761-2 with the Overhill Indians, has left an account of his residence among them, with a map of their country,[14] in which he gives the name and location of each of their towns, with the number of warriors it was able to send out. Beginning on the west and proceeding up the south bank of the Little Tennessee River, we find Mialaquo, 24 warriors, at the Great Island, just below the mouth of Tellico, and Tuskegee, 55 warriors, under the very wall of Fort Loudon; these were the towns of Attakullakulla. Tomotley, 91 warriors, under Outacite (Judge Friend) and Toquo, 82 warriors, under Willinawaw, appear at short intervals up the river. Then comes Tennessee, 21 warriors, and Chota, 175 warriors, under Oconostota, described as king and governor. Still higher up were Citico, in the shadow of Chilhowee Mountain, 204 warriors, under Cheulah; then Chilhowee, opposite the mouth of Abraham's Creek, 110 warriors, and Tallasee, in the extreme east, with 47 warriors, whose chiefs we are now unable to identify.

Attakullakulla, in his negotiations with Governor Glen, had not dreamed of a fort that would command their beloved town of Chota, the capital and pride of the nation, their only city of refuge. When he perceived the strength and permanent character of the fortress, the great council at Chota, under his leadership, ordered the work to stop, and the garrison, then on its way, to turn back. But it was too late. The fort was completed, and garrisoned by two hundred British regulars, with twelve pieces of artillery. It was named for the Earl of Loudoun, and apart from its melancholy history, is remarkable as being the first Anglo-American structure erected in Tennessee.

For a time everything seemed auspicious for the garrison of Fort Loudon. The old chiefs earnestly desired peace, and courted friendly relations with the whites. Many of their women found husbands among the soldiers of the garrison.[15] They invited artisans to their towns, and a number of families settled in the neighborhood of the fortress. It looked then like a permanent settlement was being effected at Fort Loudon.

Braddock's defeat had occurred in the year 1755. That crushing disaster was attributed to the Indian allies of the

[11]Ramsey, p. 50.
[12]Ramsey, p. 51.
[13]History of the Revolt of the American Colonies. By George Chalmers. Vol. 2, pp. 363-4, 366.

[14]"The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake (who accompanied the three Cherokee Indians to England in the year 1762), containing whatever he observed remarkable, or worthy of public notice, during his travels to and from that nation; wherein the country, government, genius and customs of the inhabitants are authentically described. Also the principal occurrences during their residence in London. Illustrated with an accurate map of their Overhill settlements, etc., London. MDCCLXV.

[15]Timberlake's Memoirs, p. 65.

French. To withstand the French Indians, it became important to enlist the warlike Cherokees on the side of the English; Washington, who had been made commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, thought their presence indispensably necessary. Accordingly, in November, 1755, Colonels William Byrd and Peter Randolph were appointed commissioners to treat with them, and soon afterwards set out for their towns.[16]

Not long before this Major Andrew Lewis had led a company of Cherokees against the Shawnee Indians, who were allies of the French. After his failure to reach Shawnee Town, the object of his expedition, Washington expressed a desire that the Indians might be persuaded to proceed as far as Fort Cumberland, for "without Indians," he says, "we will be unable to cope with the cruel foes of our country."[17] In this, however, he was disappointed, as an event now happened which came near converting them into open and dangerous enemies.

While the Indians who had served with Major Lewis were returning to the Cherokee towns, a back settler in Augusta County entertained a party of them, and when they had taken their leave some of his friends, whom he had placed in ambush for that purpose, fired upon and killed several of them. Those who escaped arrived in their towns just as Colonels Byrd and Randolph were on the point of concluding their treaty. Great excitement ensued, and but for the devotion of Silouee, and the wisdom and tact of Attakullakulla, the treaty would not only have been defeated, but the commissioners themselves would have been murdered.

Attakullakulla hastened to apprise the commissioners of their danger, warning them to keep within their tent, and on no account to appear abroad. But it seems that a number of warriors were about to fall upon the commissioners in their own tent, when Silouee threw himself between them and Colonel Byrd, exclaiming: "This man is my friend. Before you get at him you must kill me," whereupon they desisted, and consented to leave their fate to the deliberations of the council.[18] In addressing the council Attakullakulla expressed the indignation they all felt at the treachery of the Virginians, and declared he would have full satisfaction for the blood of his countrymen. "Let us not, however," he added, "violate our faith, or the laws of hospitality, by imbruing our hands in the blood of those who are now in our power; they came to cement a perpetual alliance with us. Let us carry them back to their own settlements; conduct them safely to their confines;

[16]Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. 2, p. 114.
[17]Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. 2, p. 135.
[18]Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 99.

and then take up the hatchet, and endeavor to exterminate the whole race of them."[19]

The council adopted his advice, and the commissioners, being assured of their safety, appear to have made pecuniary satisfaction for the murder of the Indian warriors, and successfully concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Cherokees. Their accounts were audited July 20, 1756, when it was found they had expended the large sum of £1319, 15s.8d. sterling, besides what the governor had paid out of funds in his hands; one of the important items being for "soothing the Indians."[20]

Following the treaty concluded by Byrd and Randolph, many warriors rallied to the British standard, under such famous old chiefs as Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter), Outacite (Judge Friend), Scollacutta (Hanging Maw), Ooskuah (Abraham), and Savanukeh (The Raven), and rendered valuable services in defending the extensive frontiers of Virginia, and also in the expedition against Fort Duquesne. They entered heartily into the cause of the Virginians, but the Indian affairs of the army, which were under the control of Edmund Atkin, Indian agent, were so badly managed that, instead of receiving the encouragement their services and bravery merited, they were met by what they considered injustice, neglect, and contempt. At one time ten of them were imprisoned on suspicion of being spies in the French interest; another party, after having undergone the perils and privations of their long march, went to war in their destitute condition, behaved nobly and rendered valuable service to the colony, but on returning with their trophies of honor, found neither agent nor interpreter to reward or thank them; nor any one who could tell them why they were thus neglected. But for the intervention and kind treatment of Washington, they must have returned to their nation fired with just resentment, if not at open war, against their allies.[21]

Fort Duquesne fell November 25, 1758. General Forbes, who commanded the English, was a trained soldier, accustomed to the strict discipline of the regular army; but he did not understand the Indian, nor appreciate his irregular mode of warfare, and was exceedingly impatient with his Cherokee

[19]Burnaby's Travels Through North America, Ed. 1904, pp. 193-195. The writer gives his account on the authority of one of the gentlemen engaged in the embassy; but he is in error in supposing that the Cherokee war began at that time; it did not commence until 1760. The accounts of the origin of this war are so confused and contradictory that it is impossible to reconcile their statements, and sometimes difficult to reach a satisfactory conclusion from them.
[20]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 252.
[21]Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. 2, pp. 245, 260-61, 269, 270.

auxiliaries. Moreover, he was then a sick man, fretful and peevish. He died the succeeding March. His Indian allies, whom Washington thought so indispensable, soon began to leave the army and return to their towns. Most of them had gone, and the few left were on the point of leaving, when Attakullakulla arrived at his camp with about sixty good warriors. While General Forbes declared him to be "as consummate a dog as any of them," exceeding all of them in his avaricious demands, he thought it bad policy, after laying out so many thousand pounds, to lose him and all the rest for a few hundred more.[22]

So he indulged what he terms their extravagant and avaricious demands, but in such an ungracious and impolitic manner that they left the army some ten days before the fall of Fort Duquesne, and set out for their own country. As soon as he was made acquainted with their "villianous desertion," November 19, 1758, he ordered Colonel Byrd instantly to despatch an express to the commanding officer at Raystown, and, in case Attakullakulla had already passed Raystown, to the commandants at Winchester, Fort Cumberland, and Fort Loudon, requiring them to relieve the Indians of their guns and ammunition, and also of the horses that had been furnished them. They would have been peremptorily stripped of their blankets, shirts and silver truck, had it been deemed of sufficient consequence. This they were to do peaceably if they could, but were authorized to use force if necessary. Being disarmed and dismounted, they were to be accompanied by a sufficient escort to prevent their doing mischief to the frontier inhabitants.[23]

But not all the care of the escort who accompanied them was sufficient to prevent the Cherokees from picking up a few horses running loose on the range, as they passed through the back settlements of Virginia. It is a pity the offense could not have been overlooked, in view of the great service they had rendered the colony, and especially its back settlers. But the rough frontiersmen, regarding all Indians as their natural enemies, pursued their offending allies and killed a number of them, variously estimated at from twelve to forty.

When tidings of this harsh and unfriendly conduct reached the Cherokee Nation, their young men were fired with resentment, and burned for revenge, but their old chiefs dissuaded them from taking up the hatchet until satisfaction had first been demanded of the colonies, in accordance with their treaty

[22]Forbes to Peters, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 33, p. 93.

[23]Forbes to Byrd, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 33, pp. 95-6.

stipulations. Thereupon they sought satisfaction of Virginia, then of North Carolina, and afterwards of South Carolina, but in vain. Having failed to obtain any redress under their treaties, they determined to take satisfaction for the blood of their relations according to their own customs. To this end the old chiefs sent out a company of young warriors, instructed to bring in as many white scalps as would equal the number of their murdered relations. The ambitious young leaders separated into small parties, and without limiting themselves as to number, killed as many of the white people as were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. Two soldiers of the garrison of Fort Loudon, who chanced to be out hunting were among the victims![24] the white people living in the neighborhood were driven into the fort, and the garrison itself was so threatened that no one was allowed to leave its walls.

When the commander of Fort Prince George informed Governor Lyttleton of these acts of hostility, he ordered the militia of the province to rendezvous at Congarees, and resolved to march to the Cherokee country, and pursue such measures as would bring them to terms. Hitherto the Cherokee depredations were considered as so many murders, and not as acts of war. Twenty-four Indians had been charged with murdering white people; but they claimed only to have taken satisfaction for the blood shed by the Virginians. The Cherokees were really friends of the English, and did not desire war. As soon as they heard of Governor Lyttleton's warlike preparations, thirty-two of their chiefs, headed by Oconostota, head man of the nation, set out for Charleston to settle all differences and prevent war. Governor Lyttleton made them a haughty speech, declaring that he would make his demands known only when he had reached their country, and if they were not granted would take satisfaction by force of arms. He assured them, however, as they had come as friends to treat of peace, that they should go home in safety, and not a hair of their heads should be touched. At the same time he told them that they must follow his troops or he would not be responsible for their safety. The proud chiefs were amazed and indignant; Oconostota immediately arose to reply, but Governor Lyttleton, against the advice of Lieutenant-Governor Bull, stopped him, refusing to hear either a defense of his nation or overtures of peace. The chiefs controlled their rage and quietly marched with the army to Congarees, where some fourteen hundred troops were assembled. When the army left Congarees, the envoys were unexpectedly made prisoners, and a captain's guard was mounted over them to prevent their

[24]Adair's American Indians, pp. 246-7.

escape. In this manner they were marched to Fort Prince George, where they were shut up in a hut scarcely sufficient for the accommodation of half a dozen soldiers.

As Governor Lyttleton's army was ill armed and undisciplined, as well as discontented and mutinous, he dared not proceed further into the Indian country; he had already sent for Attakullakulla, who was recognized as a firm friend of the English. Indeed, he was so determined in his opposition to the war that his young men compared him in derision to an old woman. He came in at once, bringing with him a French prisoner as an earnest of his loyalty to the English. The governor made him a long speech, demanding that the twenty-four Indians who had killed white people should be given up, to be put to death or otherwise disposed of as he might think proper. Attakullakulla promised to do all that he could to persuade his countrymen to give the satisfaction demanded; yet he frankly told the governor it could not be done, as the chiefs and no coercive authority over their warriors. He then requested that some of the imprisoned chiefs might be liberated, to aid him in restoring tranquility; when Oconostota, and, apparently, seven other chiefs were released, as only twenty-four were retained as hostages. The next day two Indians were delivered up, in exchange for two of the hostages and were immediately put in irons, which so alarmed the other Cherokees in the neighborhood that they fled to the woods. Attakullakulla, seeing no hope of peace, determined to retire to his home and there await the issue; but as soon as Governor Lyttleton was informed of his departure, he sent for him, and on his return a formal treaty was entered into, by which it was agreed that the twenty-two imprisoned chiefs should remain as hostages until a like number of Indian murderers were delivered to the English. This treaty was signed December 26, 1759, by Attakullakulla, Oconostota, Otassite, Kitaguste, Oconeoca, and Killconnokea.[25]

Governor Lyttleton then marched back to Charleston, where he was received as a returning conqueror. But Oconostota still hovered around Fort Prince George with a large number of warriors. The Cherokees were unacquainted with the character and meaning of hostages; to them it conveyed the idea of slaves, whose lives were at the mercy of their captors.[26] Oconostota, therefore, determined to surprise the fort and liberate them. February 16, 1760, having concealed a party of warriors in a dark thicket near at hand, he sent a request that the commanding officer come out and speak with him on business of importance. Captain Coytmore, accompanied by Lieu-

[25] North America, p. 375.
dians, p. 252.

tenant Dogharty, Ensign Bell, and their interpreter, Foster, appeared on the bank of the Savannah River. On the opposite bank Oconostota stood, with a bridle in his hand. He told the captain he was going to Charleston to effect the release of the hostages, and desired that a white man might accompany him; and, as the distance was great, he would go and try to catch a horse. Captain Coytmore promised him a guard, and hoped he would succeed in catching a horse. Oconostota then turned and swung his bridle thrice over his head, at which signal a volley of some thirty shots was fired at the officers. All were wounded, Captain Coytmore receiving a shot in the left breast from which he died two or three days later.

The Indians then stormed the fort; the prisoners on the inside sounding the war-whoop, and shouting to their countrymen to fight like strong-hearted warriors, and they would soon carry it.[27] The garrison attempted to put the hostages in irons. A soldier who seized one of them for that purpose was stabbed and killed; and in the scuffle that followed two or three more were wounded and driven out of the hut. Thus had the prisoners repelled their assailants for the moment, but the fort was too strong to be taken by the primitive arts known to their friends on the outside, and when they were repulsed, the garrison fell upon the helpless hostages, and these twenty-two of the Cherokee peace envoys were massacred in the most shocking manner. More than thirty years afterwards Doublehead referred to it as one of three occasions on which their envoys had been treacherously murdered.

This horrible affair inflamed the hearts of the Cherokees beyond all control. Their warriors everywhere dug up the hatchet, and, chanting the weird war-song, rushed down upon the unprotected and defenseless families on the frontiers of the Carolinas, where men, women, and children, without distinction, fell victims to their merciless fury. The back settlers appealed to their governor, who had so lately posed as a conquering hero, but the presence of smallpox, then a desolating plague, made it impossible to assemble the militia. In this extremity an express was hastened to General Amherst, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, who ordered a detachment of twelve hundred men, under the command of Colonel Montgomery, afterwards Earl Eglinton, to embark from New York to Charleston, with instructions to strike a sudden blow for the relief of the Carolinas and return to Albany, as the reduction of Canada was the great object then in view. In the meantime Governor Lyttleton was

[27] Adair's American Indians, p. 250.

CHAPTER II.

ATTAKULLAKULLA AND OCONOSTOTA—*Continued.*

The Cherokees besiege Fort Loudon; it capitulates and its garrison is massacred; Attakullakulla ransoms and liberates Captain John Stuart; Colonel Grant invades and destroys the Middle towns; the Indians yield and peace is restored. 1760-1761.

While Oconostota was opposing Colonel Montgomery's invasion of the Middle towns, Willinawaw was laying siege to Fort Loudon, in the Overhill towns. All communication with Fort Prince George, the point from which they drew their supplies, being cut off, the garrison was soon reduced to the necessity of eating the flesh of their lean horses and dogs. Many of the soldiers had Indian wives who, notwithstanding Willinawaw's threat to kill any who should assist the enemy, daily supplied them with such food as they could procure. This they did openly, and Willinawaw dared not put his threat into execution, because they told him their relations would make his life atone for theirs.[32] With the assistance of these devoted wives, the garrison was enabled to hold out until the beginning of August. The officers endeavored to encourage the men with hopes of relief.

They had sent runners to Virginia and South Carolina, imploring immediate succor, and stating that it was impossible for them to hold out above twenty days longer. The Virginia Assembly at once voted a considerable force for their relief, but as the troops levied were to rendezvous at Fort Robinson, on the Holston, two hundred miles distant from Williamsburg, and afterwards to march two hundred miles further, through an unexplored and trackless wilderness, the garrison might as effectually have been succored from the moon.[33]

As for South Carolina, the last hope of rescue vanished with the retreat of Colonel Montgomery. Blockaded night and day by the Indians, their provisions being exhausted, and their hope of rescue having failed, the men threatened to leave the fort and die at once by the tomahawk, rather than perish slowly by famine.

In this extremity a council of war was held, and all the officers being of opinion that it was impossible to hold out longer, it was agreed to surrender the fort to the Cherokees on the best terms that could be obtained. With this view Captain John Stuart, the second officer in command, a man

[32]Timberlake's Memoirs, pp. 65-6.

[33]Burnaby's Travels Through North America. Ed. 1904, p. 56, note.

of unusual shrewdness and address, who was well acquainted with the Indian life and character, and had many friends among them, was authorized to enter into negotiations for the surrender of the fort. He went to Chota, and held a conference with Oconostota, which resulted in an agreement upon the following articles of capitulation:

That the garrison of Fort Loudon march out with their arms and drums, each soldier having as much powder and ball as their officers shall think necessary for their march, and all the baggage they may choose to carry; that the garrison be permitted to march to Virginia, or Fort Prince George, as the commanding officer may think proper, unmolested; and that a number of Indians be appointed to escort them, and hunt for provisions during their march; that such soldiers as are lame or by sickness disabled from marching, be received into the Indian towns, and kindly used until they recover, and then be allowed to return to Fort Prince George; that the Indians do provide for the garrison as many horses as they conveniently can for their march, agreeing with the officers and soldiers for payment; that the fort, great guns, powder, ball, and spare arms, be delivered to the Indians without fraud or further delay, on the day appointed for the march of the troops.[34]

These articles were signed by Paul Demeré, on the part of the garrison, and by Oconostota and Cunigacatgoae, in behalf of the Indians.[35]

On the 7th of August, 1760, the garrison delivered up the fort, and marched out with their arms and drums, escorted by Oconostota and Judge Friend, with a number of their followers. Judge Friend was a chief of great influence, who had an interesting career. His Indian name was Outacite. He was one of the imprisoned chiefs who was liberated along with Oconostota, by Governor Lyttleton, and signed the treaty of Fort Prince George. The first day the garrison moved fifteen miles in the direction of Fort Prince George, and encamped on Tellico Plains. That night the Indians deserted them, and their officers, fearing treachery, placed a strict guard around the camp. Next morning about daybreak a picket came running in, and reported that he had seen a large number of Indians, armed, and painted in the most frightful manner, creeping among the bushes, endeavoring to surround the camp. Scarcely had the officers time to order their men to stand to their guns, when the Indians raised a terrific yell, which struck panic into the hearts of the enfeebled and dispirited soldiers; and at the same time poured a heavy fire in upon them from all directions. Captain Demeré, with three of his officers and about twenty-six men, fell at the first onset. Some fled to the woods, where they were hunted down and carried prisoners

[34]Hewat's Historical Account of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, Vol. 2, pp. 237-8.

[35]Drake's Indians of North America, 15th Ed., p. 377.

succeeded by Lieutenant Governor Bull, a man of much sounder judgment and discretion.

Colonel Montgomery reached Charleston towards the end of April, 1760; rendezvoused at Congarees; and being joined by the colonial militia and many gentlemen who volunteered for the campaign, he marched against the Lower towns. On his way to Fort Prince George, which was still being invested by the Indians, he destroyed a number of towns, killed some sixty Indians, and took about forty prisoners; but their warriors had generally retired to the mountains.

Having arrived at Fort Prince George, Edmond Atkin,[28] the agent for Indian affairs under whom they had served in Virginia, despatched two Indian chiefs to the Middle towns, to inform them that, as the former friends and allies of the English, and especially on account of the many good services of Attakullakulla,[29] Governor Bull was ready to grant them terms of peace; at the same time assuring them, if they did not come in, all their towns would be ravaged and destroyed. But these overtures came too late; Governor Lyttleton had contemptuously thrown away the only opportunity offered by the present crisis to restore friendly relations with the Cherokees.

Finding the Indians implacable, Colonel Montgomery determined to carry the war into their Middle towns. June 27, 1760, he advanced to within five miles of Etchoe, the nearest town of the Middle settlements. There he found a muddy river with steep clay banks, running through a low valley so thickly covered with bushes that the soldiers could scarcely see three yards before them. A more advantageous position for ambushing and attacking an enemy, after the manner of Indian warfare, could hardly have been chosen. Captain Morrison was ordered to advance with his company of rangers and scour this dark thicket. Scarcely had they entered it when the Indians raised the war-whoop, sprang from their hiding places, and opened fire upon them, killing the captain and wounding a number of his men. The light infantry and grenadiers gallantly came to the support of the rangers, and charged upon the Indians with great courage. The action now became general and obstinate. Colonel Montgomery ordered the Royal Scots to make a flanking movement and place themselves between the Indians and the [illegible] on the right. At length the Indians gave way [illegible] with the Royal [illegible] a neighbor- [illegible] into a further [illegible] Carolina

engagement. The English lost an officer and twenty men killed, and about eighty men wounded. The Indians are supposed to have lost about forty men.

The army then pushed forward to Etchoe, but the Indians had deserted the town, taking with them their most valuable effects. Colonel Montgomery destroyed the deserted town. His pickets, however, were attacked with great fury, and he was much annoyed by volleys from the neighboring hills. Though he had won the field and been able to advance to Etchoe, his victory was little better than a defeat, as he found it absolutely necessary to retreat, though Fort Loudon was then blockaded.[30] Having destroyed all his surplus supplies to obtain horses for his wounded, he reached Fort Prince George in safety, though the Indians hovered around and annoyed him to the utmost of their power. Soon afterwards he embarked for New York, in pursuance of his instructions, but he left the frontiers in a more desperate position than that in which he found them.[31]

[30] Chalmers' History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, Vol. 2, p. 375.

[31] In this account of the first Cherokee war I have followed, in the main, Alexander Hewat's "An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia." In two volumes. London, 1779.

to the Middle towns. Captain Stuart and those who remained with him, were seized, pinioned, and carried back to Fort Loudon. The discovery that the garrison had, in bad faith, concealed a large part of their military stores before evacuating the fort, has been assigned as the cause of this massacre;[36] but the manifest purpose of the Indians was to take satisfaction for the massacre of their peace envoys, at Fort Prince George, which Oconostota and Judge Friend had barely escaped.[37]

The story of Captain Stuart's escape is one of the most delightful romances of Indian warfare. As soon as Attakullakulla heard that he had survived the massacre and had been made a prisoner, he hastened to the fort, and purchased him from his captor, giving all he had, including his rifle and clothes, by way of ransom. He then took his prisoner to Captain Demeré's house, which he had taken possession of on the surrender of Fort Loudon, and there kept him as a member of his family.

In the meantime Oconostota, intoxicated by the successful termination of the siege of Fort Loudon, and inspired by the possession of its great guns, which he expected his prisoners to man, resolved again to undertake the reduction of Fort Prince George. To this end Captain Stuart was brought before the great council at Chota, and informed that he would be expected to take charge of the men selected to manage the great guns, and to write such letters as they should dictate; at the same time reminded of the great obligation he owed them for sparing his life. Captain Stuart was so alarmed at this information that he resolved to make his escape or perish in the attempt. He told Attakullakulla how uneasy he was at the thought of being compelled to bear arms against his countrymen; acknowledged that he had been a brother to him in the past; and begged him to help him out of his present perilous position. The old warrior took him by the hand and told him he was his friend; that he had already given one proof of his regard, and intended to give another as soon as his brother should return.

Attakullakulla now claimed Captain Stuart as his personal prisoner. As soon as his brother returned he gave it out that he was going on a few days' hunt, and would take his prisoner with him to eat venison, of which he had long been deprived. Accordingly they departed, taking the direction of the Long Island of Holston. After traveling nine days and nights through the dreary wilderness they fell in with a party of three hundred men, who had been despatched by Colonel Byrd to

[36]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 60.
[37]Hewat, Vol. 2, p. 243.

reconnoitre in the direction of Fort Loudon. On the fourteenth day they reached Fort Robinson. Here Captain Stuart was delivered to his friends, and Attakullakulla, loaded with presents and provisions, went back to his people, to exert his influence for the protection of the unhappy prisoners, and for the final restoration of peace.

At the conclusion of the war Attakullakulla asked the governor of South Carolina to appoint his friend, Captain Stuart, to reside among the Indians; assuring him that, if he should be appointed, the province would suffer no further molestation from them. The assembly likewise tendered Captain Stuart a vote of thanks, together with a reward of £1,500, for his heroic defense of Fort Loudon, and recommended him to the governor as a man worthy of preference in the service of the province. When, therefore, the Royal government found it expedient that the southern district should have a superintendent of Indian affairs, with powers similar to those exercised by Sir William Johnson, in the northern district, the appointment was given to Captain John Stuart,[38] who discharged the duties of the office with distinguished ability and fidelity until the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

The escape of Captain Stuart, and the good offices of Attakullakulla, prevented the investment of Fort Prince George, which was immediately warned of its danger, and victualed with ten weeks' provisions; while the fury of the Indians was somewhat appeased by the distribution of goods of a considerable value, by way of ransom for the survivors of Fort Loudon. But their warriors were still in an ugly mood, and the province, being apprehensive that the apparent calm would soon be broken by a new eruption, Governor Bull again applied to General Amherst for assistance. As he had completed the conquest of Canada, he could now spare an adequate force for the subjugation of the Cherokees, who were then the only people disturbing the peace of America.[39]

Colonel Montgomery, who conducted the former expedition, having returned to England, the command of the Highlanders devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel James Grant, who was ordered to return with them to the relief of the Carolinas. He arrived at Charleston in January, 1761, and went into winter quarters, until the opening of spring should permit him to take the field. After being joined by the provincial militia and the Chickasaw and Choctaw allies, his army numbered about twenty-six hundred men.

On May 27, 1761, Colonel Grant arrived at Fort Prince

[38]Hewat, Vol. 2, p. 276.
[39]Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. 2, p. 336.

George. Here he was met by Attakullakulla, who made an earnest plea in behalf of his people. He said he had always been and would continue to be the firm friend of the English; though he had been called an old woman by the mad young men of his nation, who delighted in war. The outrages of his countrymen covered him with shame, and filled his heart with grief; yet he would gladly interpose in their behalf in order to bring about peace. Often he had endeavored to get his people to bury the hatchet; and again and again he entreated Colonel Grant to proceed no further until he had made one more effort to persuade them to consult their safety and agree to terms of peace.

Colonel Grant, however, declined to give him any assurances, and on the 7th day of June, moved out of Fort Prince George, carrying with him provisions for a thirty days' campaign. He marched rapidly towards the Middle towns, which could be reached only by the gap in the mountains, where Colonel Montgomery had been engaged the year before. At this point the men were ordered to load their guns and prepare for action. Lieutenant Francis Marion, afterwards so distinguished in the Revolutionary War, was sent forward with thirty men to explore the pass. Scarcely had he entered the gloomy defile when a sheet of fire blazed forth from behind the rocks and trees all around him. Twenty-one of his men fell at the first discharge; the remainder were barely able to effect their retreat to the main body.[40] The action then became general.

The Indians had Colonel Grant's army between a hill, which was occupied by their main force, and a river, on the opposite bank of which a large party maintained a brisk fire. They were repeatedly driven from the heights, but only to return with redoubled ardor; while the low grounds were disputed with determined obstinacy. No sooner did Colonel Grant gain an advantage in one quarter, than the Indians appeared in another. While his attention was occupied in driving them from their lurking place on the river side, his rear was attacked, and so vigorous an effort made to capture his supplies that he was obliged to order a party back for the relief of the rear guard. The battle raged from eight o'clock until eleven in the morning, when the Cherokees gave way. They were pursued for some time, random shots continuing until two o'clock in the afternoon, when the Indians disappeared. The loss of Colonel Grant's army was between fifty and sixty men, killed and wounded; and that of the Indians was probably not greater.

[40]Horry and Weems' Life of Francis Marion, pp. 22-3.

Though the victory was far from decisive, Colonel Grant followed it up with a punishment which, while cruel and heartless, was thoroughly effective; and it furnished a precedent by which the subsequent Indian fighters of the Old Southwest did not fail to profit. He burned every town in the Middle settlements, destroyed their storehouses and ravaged their fields, leaving them absolutely without food or shelter. Being reduced to the greatest misery, they abandoned all thought of war, and sought refuge for their old men, their women and children, among their more fortunate brothers west of the mountains. This ruthless ruin touched the generous heart of Marion, who thus describes it, in a letter to a friend:

We arrived at the Indian towns in the month of July. As the lands were rich and the season had been favorable, the corn was bending under the double weight of lusty roasting ears and pods of clustering beans. The furrows seemed to rejoice under their precious loads—the fields stood thick with bread. We encamped the first night in the woods, near the fields, where the whole army feasted on the young corn, which, with fat venison, made a most delicious treat.

The next morning we proceeded, by order of Colonel Grant, to burn down the Indian cabins. Some of our men seemed to enjoy this cruel work, laughing very heartily at the curling flames, as they mounted, loud crackling over the tops of the huts. But to me it appeared a shocking sight. Poor creatures! thought I, we surely need not grudge you such miserable habitations. But when we came according to orders, to cut down the fields of corn, I could scarcely refrain from tears. For who could see the stalks that stood, so stately with broad green leaves and gaily tasseled shocks, filled with sweet milky fluid and flour, the staff of life; who, I say, without grief, could see these sacred plants sinking under our swords with all their precious load, to wither and rot untasted in their mourning fields?[41]

This work of destruction occupied Colonel Grant the better part of a month. A few days after his return to Fort Prince George, Attakullakulla, attended by several chiefs, again appeared at his camp, and sued for peace. Colonel Grant drew up a treaty, to all of which Attakullakulla agreed, except the following article: "That four Cherokee Indians be delivered up to Colonel Grant at Fort Prince George, to be put to death in front of his camp; or four green scalps to be brought to him in the space of twelve nights."[42] This he said he had no power to concede, and Colonel Grant consented that he might go to Charleston and see whether Governor Bull would yield this demand.

Governor Bull met him, September, 1761, at Ashley's Ferry, and addressed him, in a friendly spirit, as follows:

Attakullakulla, I am glad to see you, and as I have always heard of your good behavior, that you have been a good friend to the Eng-

[41]Horry and Weems' Life of Marion, pp. 24-5.

[42]Hewat, Vol. 2., p. 252.

lish, I take you by the hand, and not only you but all those with you also, as a pledge of their security whilst under my protection. Colonel Grant acquaints me that you have applied for peace; now that you have come, I have met you with my beloved men, to hear what you have to say, and my ears are open for that purpose.[42]

Then a fire was kindled, the pipe of peace was lighted, and for some time smoked in silence, when Attakullakulla arose and made this pathetic appeal for his people:

When I came to Keowee, Colonel Grant sent me to you. You are on the water side, and are in the light. We are in darkness; but hope all will be clear. I have been constantly going about doing good; and though I am tired, yet I am come to see what can be done for my people, who are in great distress. As to what has happened, I believe it has been order by our Father above. We are of a different color from the white people. They are superior to us. But one God is father to us all, and we hope what is past will be forgotten. God Almighty made all people. There is not a day but that some are coming into, and others going out of the world. The great king told me the path should never be crooked, but open for every one to pass. As we all live in one land, I hope that we shall all live as one people."

This conference resulted in an agreement that put an end to the war, and ushered in a long era of peace.

About the same time that Colonel Grant set out on his campaign against the Middle towns, Colonel William Byrd marched from Virginia against the Overhill towns. Colonel Byrd left the regiment at Stalnaker's, and the command devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel Stephen, who advanced as far as the Long Island of Holston. Here he halted and began the erection of a fort. While he was still engaged in this work, about the middle of November, 1761, Oconostota, accompanied by four hundred of his people, came in to ask for terms of peace, which were concluded on the 19th of November, 1761.

From the execution of this treaty the colonies were at peace with the whole of the Cherokee nation, but in the meantime Fort Loudon had been permanently abandoned, and the settlement of Tennessee delayed for ten years.

Little more remains to be told of the two famous old chiefs who were the central figures in this war; the one as a warrior, and the other as a peacemaker. For the next fifteen years their talks were white, and their people kept the path straight. They prevented Cameron from removing the Watauga settlers in 1772; and when the British persuaded their young warriors to dig up the hatchet in 1776, they still counseled peace. Both signed the treaty of Holston in 1777, and from that time held the Americans firmly by the hand. They, with Willinawaw, were appointed by the nation to wait upon the governor of North Carolina, for the purpose of inducing him to open trade

[42]Hewat, Vol. 2, p. 252.

[43]Hewat, Vol. 2, p. 253.

with the Cherokees, and thereby counteract the influence of Cameron, who refused to trade with them as long as they were at peace with the Americans.[45] Attakullakulla must have died soon afterwards, as this is the last time his name is mentioned in the records.

Oconostota lived a few more stormy years. Chota, which had been spared by Christian in 1776, was destroyed by Campbell and Sevier during the last days of 1780, and Oconostota was compelled to flee to the mountains, where he established a temporary residence,[46] though he afterwards returned to his beloved town. In the fall of 1781, the British agent in Georgia nominated the Raven as principal chief in opposition to Oconostota, and gave him a medal as a token of his authority.[47] After this revolt of the war party, Oconostota undertook to resign his position in favor of his son, Tuckasee, a friendly chief, and asked Colonel Martin to assist at the ceremony of his installation, in the name of Virginia.[48] Although Oconostota claimed the consent of the whole nation, Tuckasee was never received as its principal chief, that honor having fallen to another friendly chief, called the Tassel.

Oconostota died in the spring of 1785, and his influence was greatly missed by the American agent.[49] His death as well as the death of Attakullakulla, was spoken of at the treaty of Hopewell, in 1785, as an event well known to the whites as well as the Indians.[50]

[45]James Robertson to Governor Caswell, October 17, 1777. State Records of North Carolina, Vol. 11, p. 654.

[46]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 602.

[47]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 446-7.

[48]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 234.

[49]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 54. The story that he was still alive in 1809, a victim of strong drink, as repeated in Thwaites and Kellogg's Dunmore's War, pp. 38-9, is, of course, apocryphal, as he had then been dead nearly a quarter of a century.

[50]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 42.

CHAPTER III.

CHEROKEE INVASION OF HOLSTON.

The Cherokees join the British at the beginning of the Revolution; prepare to invade the frontiers of North Carolina and Virginia; Nancy Ward gives timely warning to the settlers; battle of Long Island Flats and siege of Fort Watauga. 1776.

The close of the Cherokee War in 1761 was followed in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris, by which France ceded the whole of the western country to England. The French, entertaining little desire for the lands of the Indians, had aroused their jealousy by pointing out the encroachments of the English, who, they asserted, intended to dispossess them of the whole country. To allay this feeling, King George III issued his famous proclamation of October 7, 1763. This was an epoch-making document, and may be fairly called the Magna Carta of the North American Indians. It was the first instrument to assign them territorial limits, and to guarantee their right to the hunting grounds set apart to them. It defines the Indian boundary to be the watershed dividing the waters of the Atlanta from those flowing to the westward; and makes the first distinct general prohibition against British subjects purchasing lands from the Indians, or settling within their hunting grounds.[51]

To enforce obedience to this proclamation, and preserve friendly relations with the Indians of the South, Captain John Stuart, as we have seen, was appointed superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern district. Born in Scotland about the year 1700, he emigrated to America in 1733, received a subordinate command in the British service, and distinguished himself at the siege of Fort Loudon. Upright and faithful dealings with the Cherokees made him a general favorite with them, and gave him an unbounded influence as superintendent of Indian affairs.[52]

The year 1772 found a handful of adventurous pioneers located on the historic banks of the Watauga River, in East Tennessee. They had settled there under the belief that they were within the territorial limits of Virginia, whose back country had been opened to settlement under the treaty of Fort

[51]The State vs. James Foreman, Nashville, 1836, pp. 23-4. Opinion by Chief Justice Catron. See also the Laws of the United States, Resolutions of Congress under the Confederation, Treaties, Proclamations, and other Documents having Operation and Respect to the Public Lands, etc., Washington, 1817, p. 28, where the proclamation may be found in full.

[52]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, p. 203.

Stanwix, in 1768. But a survey made at this time by Colonel Anthony Bledsoe disclosed the fact that they were on the Cherokee hunting ground, beyond the jurisdiction of both Virginia and North Carolina. When this became apparent, Alexander Cameron, Indian agent resident among the Cherokees, ordered them to move off. This was a supreme crisis in the affairs of the settlement. It was finally solved by the friendly Cherokee chiefs expressing the wish that they might be permitted to remain, on condition that they would not encroach beyond the land they then had. The Watauga settlers being prohibited by the King's proclamation from purchasing their lands from the Indians, availed themselves of the friendly disposition of their chiefs, and leased them for a term of ten years. Three years later, when Henderson and Company made their famous Transylvania purchase at Sycamore Shoals, the Watauga and Nolichucky settlers followed their example, and bought their lands in fee simple.[53] Their deeds were signed by Oconostota, Attakullakulla, Tennesy Warrior, and Willinawaw.

When the Revolutionary War came, the British government determined to employ the Indians against the southern and western frontiers. The organization of the southern tribes was intrusted to Superintendent Stuart. Their general plan, which was only partially successful, was to land an army in west Florida, march them through the country of the Creeks and Chickasaws, who were each to furnish five hundred warriors; and thence to Chota, the capital of the Cherokee nation. Being reinforced by the Cherokees, they were to invade the whole of the southern frontier, while the attention of the colonies was diverted by formidable naval and military demonstrations on the sea coast. Circular letters outlining the plan, intended for the information of the Tories who were expected to repair to the royal standards, were issued May 9, and reached the Watauga settlement May 18, 1776.[54]

The Cherokees, when the plan was first submitted to them, were not prepared to take sides in the contest. A civil war was unknown to their nation, and they could hardly believe that the British government would make war against a part of its own people. Moreover, they had been at peace with the Americans since their treaty with Governor Bull, had no new complaint against them, and were living heedless, happy lives in their own towns. From the summit of almost any hill in the Tennessee mountains one might have beheld a vast expanse of green meadows and strawberry fields, the meandering

[53]Garrett and Goodpasture's History of Tennessee, pp. 34-6.

[54]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 147-8, 161.

river gliding through them, saluting in its turnings and swellings, green, turfy knolls, embellished with parterres of blooming flowers and ripening fruit. There the young warriors stalked the flocks of wild turkeys strolling through the meads, and chased the herds of deer prancing and bounding over the hills; and there the young maidens gathered the rich, fragrant strawberries, and in a gay and frolicsome humor, chased their companions and stained their lips and cheeks with the red, ripe fruit; or, reclining on the banks of the beautiful mountain stream, their fair forms half concealed in the shadow of the blooming and fragrant bowers of magnolia, azalea, perfumed calycanthus, and sweet yellow jessamin, listlessly toyed in its cool, fleeting waters.[55]

But they had been accustomed to look on King George III as their great father. Attakullakulla and Oconostota, now old and infirm, but still honored and revered, had in their young manhood seen the splendor of his grandfather's court, and witnessed the strength and resources of the British nation; while Judge Friend had only three years before been received at the throne of the great King himself. For more than twelve years Captain Stuart had been the trusted friend and father of the whole tribe, but more especially of Attakullakulla, who had rescued him after the fall of Fort Loudon, and solicited his appointment to the high office he then held. Alexander Cameron, resident agent among the Cherokees, had married an Indian wife, and lived in regal style on an estate called Lochaber, named for the famous seat of the Camerons in the highlands of Inverneshire, Scotland, near the old Indian town of Keowee; had been their earnest champion, possessed their entire confidence, and had a large influence over them. These considerations, together with promises of clothing, booty, and the restoration of their hunting grounds to what may be called their charter limits, enabled the English to win most of the headmen over to their interest.

The campaign was planned with the utmost secrecy. William Bartram, the eminent American naturalist, left Superintendent Stuart at Charleston, April 22, 1776; was with Cameron at Lochaber on the fifteenth of May; later, dined with the chief of Watauga at his mountain home; and towards the end of the month met Attakullakulla on the border of the Overhill settlements. The Watauga chief inquired about Stuart, and Attakullakulla announced that he was then on his way to Charleston to see him, but none of them gave any intimation of the perilous operations that were being planned

[55]Bartram's Travels, pp. 354-5.

against the back settlements, though Stuart's circular letter had already reached Watauga.[56]

It was agreed that North Carolina and Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia, should be attacked simultaneously; the Overhill towns were to fall upon the back settlements of North Carolina and Virginia; the Middle towns were to invade the outlying districts of South Carolina; and the Lower towns were to strike the frontiers of Georgia. We are concerned only with the movements of the Overhill towns, which mustered about seven hundred warriors. They were to move in three divisions; one was to march against the Holston settlements, another was to strike Watauga, and the third was to scour Carter's valley. The first division fell to the command of Dragging Canoe (Chencunsene), of Mialaquo,[57] who has been called a savage Napoleon;[58] the second was entrusted to Abraham (Ooskuah), of Chilhowee, a half-breed chief who had fought with Washington on the frontiers of Virginia;[59] and the third was under the Raven (Savanukeh), of Chota, who had served in the same campaign, but with little credit, having been detected in undertaking to palm off two white scalps brought from his own country, for trophies of an unsuccessful scout against the French.[60]

At this time there lived in Chota a famous Indian woman named Nancy Ward. She held the office of Beloved Woman, which not only gave her the right to speak in council, but conferred such great power that she might, by the wave of a swan's wing, deliver a prisoner condemned by the council, though already tied to the stake.[61] She was of queenly and commanding presence and manners, and her house was furnished in a style suitable to her high dignity. Her father is said to have been a British officer, and her mother a sister of Attakullakulla.[62] Her daughter, Betsy, was the Indian wife of General Joseph Martin. She had a son, Little Fellow, and a brother, Long Fellow (Tuskegetchee), who were influential chiefs.[63] The latter boasted that he commanded seven towns, while thirteen others listened to his talks; and though he had

[56]Bartram's Travels, pp. 362-4.
[57]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 435.
[58]Phelan's History of Tennessee, p. 43.
[59]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 342.
[60]Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. 2, p. 284.
[61]Timberlake's Memoirs, p. 71.
[62]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, pp. 203-4.
[63]General Joseph Martin and the War of the Revolution in the West. By Prof. Stephen B. Weeks, p. 423; Publications of the Southern History Association, Vol. 4, p. 458.

once loved war and lived at Chickamauga, at the request of his nephew, General Martin, he had moved to Chestua, midway between Chota and Chickamauga, where he stood like a wall between bad people and his brothers, the Virginians.[64] Like her distinguished uncle, Nancy Ward was a consistent advocate of peace, and constant in her good offices to both races. She gave timely warning and assistance to the traders when the young warriors dug up the hatchet in 1781;[65] and delivered condemned prisoners from the stake, as we shall see. When Campbell's army was straitened for provisions, she had cattle driven in and furnished them with beef.[66] She was a successful cattle raiser, and is said to have been the first to introduce that industry among the Cherokees,[67] who, though they had numerous breeds of horses and hogs, were entirely without cattle and sheep, as late as 1762.[68] Afterwards she interceded with the victorious Americans for her unhappy people.[69] She intervened with conspicuous success in private disputes between the frontiersmen and the Indians.[70] Haywood has justly called her another Pocahontas.

When Nancy Ward found that her people had fallen in with the plans of Stuart and Cameron, she communicated the intelligence to a trader named Isaac Thomas, and provided him with the means of setting out as an express to warn the back settlers of their danger. Thomas was a man of character and a true American, who has left distinguished descendants in the state of Louisiana. Accompanied by a man named William Faulen, he lost no time in conveying the alarming intelligence to the people on the Watauga and Holston. His services were afterwards recognized and rewarded by the state of Virginia.

The information conveyed by Thomas produced great consternation on the border. Couriers were despatched in every direction. They had not had an Indian war since the settlement was begun, some seven years before. There was not a fort or blockhouse from Wolf Hills westward. But preparations for defense now became nervously active; the people rushed together in every neighborhood and hurriedly constructed forts and stockades. For our purpose it is necessary to mention only Eaton's Station and Fort Watauga.

[64]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 307.

[65]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 458.

[66]Weeks' General Joseph Martin, p. 431.

[67]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, p. 213, citing Nuttall's Travels, p. 130.

[68]Timberlake's Memoirs, p. 47.

[69]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 435.

[70]Ramsey, p. 273.

Eaton's Station was six miles from the Long Island of Holston, on the road leading to Wolf Hills. It had been built in advance of the settlement, and was garrisoned by a small body of men, who fortified it on the alarm of the approaching Indians. Here five small companies, aggregating one hundred and seventy men, raised in the Holston settlements, and commanded by their senior captain, James Thompson, collected for the purpose of opposing Dragging Canoe, who was understood to be advancing with his detachment of the Indian forces.

July 19, 1776, Captain Thompson's scouts came in and reported a great number of Indians making for the settlements. A council of war determined that it would be best to move forward and meet them, engaging them wherever found, as they might otherwise pass the fort, break into small parties, and massacre the women and children in its rear. On the 20th they marched about six miles to the low, marshy ground, called the Flats, that lay along the north bank of the Holston, opposite the Long Island. There the scouts encountered and repulsed a small party of Indians. The ground being unfavorable for pursuit, a council of officers determined that it would be best to retire to the fort; but before they had gone more than a mile, they were attacked in the rear by a force not inferior to their own. The Indians engaged them in the open, and fought with great fury, making vigorous but ineffectual efforts to surround them. The battle lasted only a few minutes, when the Indians retired, leaving thirteen dead on the field, besides the dead and wounded they were able to carry off. None of the whites were killed, and only four of them were seriously wounded.[71]

The next day, July 21, at sunrise the Indians under Abraham assaulted Fort Watauga, on the Watauga River. This fort was defended by Captain James Robertson and Lieutenant John Sevier, with a garrison of forty men. The Indians were repulsed with considerable loss, which could not be definitely ascertained. It was here that Lieutenant Sevier received to his arms, as she fled from the Indians, Miss Catherine Sherrill, who subsequently became his wife, and is affectionately known as Bonny Kate.[72] The investment continued with more or less rigor for twenty days, when the Indians finally withdrew.[73]

[71]Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 62; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 154, where the official report of the battle may be found; Phelan's History of Tennessee, p. 43.

[72]Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, p. 52.

[73]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 156-7.

The party led by the Raven struck across the country to Carter's Valley, but finding the inhabitants shut up in forts, and being intimidated by news of the defeat of Dragging Canoe, and the repulse of Abraham, abandoned the enterprise and returned to their towns.[74]

A fourth division, or more probably, the first division, after its defeat at Long Island Flats, divided into small parties and swept up the valley of the Clinch from the remotest settlement to the Seven Mile Ford, in Virginia. One of these parties made a sudden descent on the Wolf Hills settlement, and attacked the Reverend Charles Cummings, a militant Presbyterian preacher, noted for his habit of riding to his appointments with his rifle on his shoulder, which he deposited on the pulpit before commencing the services of the day. He had four companions with him at the time, and was on the way to his field. At the first fire William Creswell, one of the heroes of Long Island Flats, was killed, and two others were wounded. But with his remaining companion, and the trusty rifle, which he carried to the field as well as to the pulpit, he held his own with the Indians until relieved by the men from the fort.[75]

Upon the whole, the Indian invasion was a failure, owing to the timely warning of Nancy Ward, and the concentration of the inhabitants in forts built in consequence of the information she conveyed. If the well-guarded secret of the Indian campaign had not been disclosed, and they had been permitted to steal upon the defenseless backwoodsmen, who, in fancied security, had remained scattered over the extensive frontiers, every soul of them would probably have been swept from the borders of Tennessee. As it was, only slight injury was inflicted on the whites; two or three were killed, a few more wounded, and two were taken prisoners. On the other hand, its consequences were fatal to the Indians. The whites having felt their strength no longer feared them; and the Overhill towns, which had never yet been invaded, were soon to feel their avenging arm.

The two prisoners mentioned who were taken during the siege of Fort Watauga were Mrs. William Bean, mother of the first white child born in Tennessee, and a boy named Samuel Moore. They were carried to one of the Overhill towns, called Tuskegee, situated just above the mouth of Tellico, on the Little Tennessee River, in what is now Monroe County, Tennessee. There they were condemned to be burned at the stake. Mrs. Bean was bound, taken to the top of a mound, and was

[74]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 159.
[75]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 160.

about to be burned, when Nancy Ward interposed and pronounced her pardon.[76] Moore was not so fortunate; he was actually tortured to death by burning.[77] The Tassel afterwards asserted, no doubt truthfully, that he was the only white person ever burned by the Indians in Tennessee.[78]

[76]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 157.
[77]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 158.
[78]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 306.

CHAPTER IV.

RISE OF THE CHICKAMAUGAS.

Colonel Christian marches an army against the Overhill towns, and dictates terms of peace; treaty of Long Island; Dragging Canoe's party refuse to treat, and secede from the old towns; rise of the Chickamaugas. 1776-1782.

The Cherokee invasion of 1776 aroused the neighboring states to extraordinary exertions. They determined to strike the Indians such a blow as would deter them from again listening to the talks of the British. By a concerted movement, four expeditions were speedily organized to enter their country simultaneously, from as many different directions. North Carolina sent twenty-four hundred men under General Griffith Rutherford, who laid waste their country upon the Oconaluftee and Tuckasegee, and on the headwaters of the Little Tennessee and Hiwassee; the South Carolina men, eighteen hundred and sixty strong, carried frightful destruction to their towns and settlements on the Savannah; while two hundred Georgians, under Colonel Samuel Jack, devastated their towns on the head of the Chattahoochee and Tugaloo.

The Virginia forces, including those from the Tennessee settlements, numbered about two thousand men, and were commanded by Colonel William Christian, an officer of great humanity, as well as courage and address. They marched against the Overhill towns, which they took without resistance, the Indians being daunted by their overwhelming numbers. Pursuing the same policy followed by the other commanders, Colonel Christian destroyed many of their towns, but with diplomatic discrimination, he spared those like Chota, which had been disposed to peace, his purpose being to convince the Indians that he warred only with enemies.

The Cherokee country was desolated from the Virginia line to the Chattahoochee. Their loss of life and property was appalling. More than fifty of their towns had been burned, their orchards cut down, their fields wasted, their cattle and horses killed or driven off, and their personal property plundered. Hundreds of their people had been killed, or died of hunger and exposure. Those who escaped were fugitives in the mountains, living on nuts and wild game, or were refugees with Superintendent Stuart, who had fled to Florida.[79]

Under these circumstances the Cherokees were compelled to sue for peace. Two separate treaties were made. The first was concluded with South Carolina and Georgia, at Dewitt's

[79]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, p. 51.

Corner, May 20, 1777, and ceded all their lands in South Carolina and eastward of the Unaka Mountains.[80] After Colonel Christian had destroyed the Overhill towns, he invited their chiefs to come in and treat for peace. Six or seven of them appeared. The terms imposed upon them were the surrender of all prisoners, and the cession of the disputed territory occupied by the Tennessee settlements, as soon as representatives of the whole tribe could be assembled in the spring.[81] In accordance with this agreement the treaty with Virginia and North Carolina was held at Long Island of Holston, July 20, 1777, and was signed by twenty of their principal chiefs.[82]

At the conference Colonel Christian regretted the absence of Judge Friend, Dragging Canoe, Lying Fish, and Young Tassel; and Captain James Robertson, who was appointed temporary agent at Chota, was instructed to discover their disposition toward the treaty, and whether there was any danger of a renewal of hostilities by one or more of them.[83] These were influential chiefs and their disaffection was ominous to the settlers.

Judge Friend was a picturesque character. The Indians called him Outacite, which means the "Man-killer," on account of his martial exploits,[84] while his English name of Judge Friend (corrupted from Judd's Friend) was given him for saving a man named Judd from the fury of his countrymen.[85] He fought with Washington against the French and Indians on the frontiers of Virginia; and on his return took a leading part in the war against the Carolinas. He was imprisoned and liberated with Oconostota by Governor Lyttleton, and with him received the surrender of the garrison of Fort Loudon.

After the treaty with Colonel Stephen in November, 1761, Henry Timberlake was sent to the Overhill towns. On his arrival at Tomotley, he was received and entertained by Judge Friend, who gave him a general invitation to his house while he remained in their towns. The following March, Timberlake conducted him, and a large party of Indians, to Williamsburg. A few days before he was to return home, Mr. Harrocks invited him to sup with him at the college, where, among other curiosities, he showed him the picture of His

[80]The Cherokee Nation of Indians, by Charles C. Royce, Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 150.

[81]Myths of the Cherokee, p. 51.

[82]The whole treaty, and a report of the proceedings during the negotiations, may be found in the appendix to Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee (2nd Ed.), pp. 501-14.

[83]Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 506, 512.

[84]Miller's History of Great Britain, p. 35.

[85]Timberlake's Memoirs, p. 72.

Clash of cultures remembered

Indiana Indians

By BOB DOWNING
Knight Ridder Newspapers

Battle Ground, Ind. — A battlefield in northwest Indiana along the Wabash River led William Henry Harrison to the White House in 1840.

You've heard the political slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too." That was a reference to Harrison, an Ohio resident who was the hero of the battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, and to John Tyler, his vice president.

Tyler became president when Harrison died after one month in office, having caught pneumonia at his inauguration.

Tippecanoe is where Indians, led by the absent Shawnee chief Tecumseh and his brother, Tenskwatawa, or The Prophet, lost their claim to the Midwest.

Today, the Tippecanoe battlefield is not a national monument or an Indiana state park. It is administered by the Tippecanoe County Historical Association and the Tippecanoe County Parks Department.

They manage the wooded 108-acre battlefield that lies off Railroad Street at the edge of Battle Ground, seven miles north of Lafayette. You can visit the battlefield, tour the first-rate Interpretive Center and stroll along pretty Burnette's Creek to Prophet's Rock, where The Prophet urged his warriors to battle. You can also get to the rock off Prophet's Rock Road. A historical marker off state Route 225 two miles east of Battle Ground marks the site of Prophetstown.

Today, the Tippecanoe Battlefield Memorial Park — a National Historic Landmark — is marked by an impressive marble monument surrounded by a wrought-iron fence.

A statue of Harrison tops the monument. Bold American eagles top the fence around Harrison's old campground.

The center features battle and Indian artifacts and a fiber-optic map outlining battle movements. It also includes an American Indian interpretation of the battle.

In 1808, Tecumseh and his brother, with the approval of the Potawatomi and Kickapoo tribes, established Prophet's Town near the junction of the Wabash and Tippecanoe rivers.

The brothers sought to unite many tribes against the growing number of white settlers. Tecumseh had a dream of a confederation of American Indian nations and of establishing equal rights with whites.

Prophet's Town became a training and spiritual center of the movement, and a seat of diplomacy; as many as 1,000 warriors were there.

In the summer of 1811, Harrison, the governor of the Indiana territory, organized a small army of 1,000 men. He wanted to destroy the town while Tecumseh was in the South on a recruiting trip.

Harrison's army arrived at Prophet's Town on Nov. 6. Both sides decided there would be no hostilities until a meeting could be held the following

at historic Tippecanoe battlefield

day. The army camped out on an oak-covered hill about a mile west of Prophet's Town. Harrison warned his men the Indians might attack. The men slept fully clothed, and sentinels were posted. The Prophet led the Indians in a pre-dawn attack through rain and fog on Nov. 7, despite Tecumseh's earlier warning not to attack the whites until the Indian confederation was complete.

The Prophet ignored his brother's request. He told the Indians that white men's bullets could not harm them. The Indians, numbering 600 to 700, attacked at 4 a.m.

The battle raged for three hours.

Harrison's army suffered 37 dead; 25 more died later of wounds. Another 126 were wounded.

The Indian casualties were unknown, but Tecumseh's confederation was crushed.

The warriors stripped The Prophet of his power and threatened to kill him.

The Indians abandoned Prophet's Town. It was burned by Harrison's army on Nov. 8.

Tecumseh returned three months later. He joined forces with the British in the War of 1812. Tecumseh was killed in 1813 at the Battle of the Thames in Ontario. The Prophet died in Kansas in 1834.

A major political rally attracted 30,000 people to the Tippecanoe battlefield on May 29, 1840. They came to praise Old Tipp (Harrison) and to eat bread and stew (which were free) and to drink hard cider.

Harrison, who made a failed run for president in 1836, won the 1840 election.

In 1834, Harrison's 16-acre campground was donated to the state of Indiana. But plans for a monument languished.

The 85-foot-tall obelisk was erected in 1908.

You can jump on the Heritage Trail that extends 11 miles along the Wabash River to Reihle Plaza in Lafayette.

Nearby you will find the Museums at Prophetstown.

The 300-acre facility is designed to preserve the American Indian heritage (including Prophets Town) of 13 Ohio and Indiana tribes, along with the Wabash River Valley's family-farm agricultural past and 150 acres of restored prairies and wetlands.

The Museums at Prophetstown — featuring a $3.6 million visitor and education center — is in a still-developing park: Prophetstown State Park, with camping sites and picnic areas to open next year.

IF YOU GO

For more information on the monument, call (765) 567-2147, or visit *www.tcha.mus.in.us/battlefield.htm.*

You can write to the Tippecanoe County Historical Association at P.O. Box 225, Battle Ground, IN 47920.

For more information on the Museums at Prophetstown, P.O. Box 331, Battle Ground, IN 47920; (765) 567-4700; *www.prophetstown.org.*

Wilmington Journal-Sentinel 09-5-E 17 Jan 2004

to their children and their children's children; to bind this agreement between the English and Cherokees "as long as the rivers shall run, the mountains shall last, or the sun shall shine."

The treaty was certified and approved by Sir Alexander Cumming, and was formally accepted, in behalf of the Cherokees, by Skijagustah, who made an earnest and most reassuring speech. Then laying down his feathers upon the table he concluded: "This is our way of talking, which is the same thing to us as your letters in the book are to you, and to you, beloved men, we deliver these feathers in confirmation of all we have said."

In consequence of this treaty, the Cherokees remained, for many years, in a state of practically uninterrupted friendship and peace with the people of South Carolina, who followed their various employments in their hunting grounds without fear of molestation.

But before the Indian chiefs were to return to Carolina, impressed with the grand and strange sights of London and the great white people with whom they had formed an alliance, as well as placated and softened by the kind and generous nature of their reception, a number of events worthy of brief note had occurred in the province.

The Cherokee Country in 1730

A good idea of the extent of country known as the Cherokee Country may be obtained through the map prepared in 1730 by George Hunter, a professional surveyor who afterward became surveyor general of the province of South Carolina. John Herbert, one of the commissioners of the Indian trade, had already prepared a map of that region which stretched to the Mississippi, and Hunter had traveled the trader's route through the Cherokee country and published his journal as his Observations. Both map and Observations were condensed in the publication of 1730, which carries the title: "This represents the Cherokee Nation, by Col. Herbert's map and my own Observations, with the path to Charles Town, its course and (distance measured by my watch) the names of branches, rivers and creeks, as given them by traders along that Nation.

"May 21, 1730 Certified by me George Hunter."

It is stated in the table of distances entered on Hunter's map that Keowee, or Kewohee, where Sir Alexander Cumming met the first of the Cherokee chiefs, was 302 miles from Charles Town, and that it was reckoned only half way to Tunassee, the capital of the Cherokee country; for, although the actual distance from Kewohee to Tunassee was only 200 miles, by reason of the mountainous country through which the traveler had to pass, the actual route was much longer.

In Hunter's map appears for the first time the locality "96," which he says was so named by the traders because the locality was ninety-six miles from Keowee. From the map it also appears that the streams in the Cherokee country were numbered in ascending numbers from the Congarees to Ninety-six and in the same manner from Keowee to Ninety-six. So that in 1730, more than a decade before white settlers had commenced to come into the up-country of South Carolina in considerable numbers, Ninety-six had been set apart for prominence by the pioneer traders and surveyors of the period and the province.*

In the following year, an unsuccessful attempt was made to found

*See A. S. Salley, Jr.'s, Bulletin No. 4; "George Hunter's Map of the Cherokee Country," etc.

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regiment in the following year, he was made senior captain of the independent companies. He held various military commands until the American Revolution. In that war he was given the command of a Virginia regiment with the rank of colonel. In September, 1776, he was made brigadier general, and in February of the following year he was promoted to the rank of major general. He served with great distinction in the battles of Princeton, Trenton and Brandywine. He was several times elected to the state legislature between 1780 and 1785, and he was also a member of the Virginia Convention of 1788 which ratified the Constitution of the United States. He died August 4, 1791.

5. Andrew Lewis (1720—September 25, 1781), born in Ulster, Ireland, was the son of John and Margaret Lynn Lewis. After moving to Virginia he settled in Augusta County. He was with Washington at the capitulation of Fort Necessity, served under his brother Samuel in Braddock's expedition, headed the Sandy Creek expedition of 1756, and was with Major Grant's in 1758 at which time he was captured by the French. Later he escaped. In 1774 he was made a brigadier general and commanded the Virginia forces at the battle of Point Pleasant.

6. Washington to John Blair, April 17, 1758, *Writings of Washington*, II, 177-178.

7. Captain Robert Stewart became one of Washington's most trustworthy frontier commanders. Later he served in General Forbes' expedition of 1758.

8. Dinwiddie to Washington, October 18, 1755, *Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 247.

9. Washington to Gist, October 10, 1755, *Writings of Washington*, I, 198.

10. Washington to Robert Stewart, December 17, 1756, ibid., I, 522.

11. Washington to Gist, October 10, 1755, ibid., I, 198.

12. Orders, December 28, 1755, ibid., I, 261: Nathaniel returned from the Cherokee country where he had had problems with Richard Pearis in time to participate in Braddock's expedition. It was in the next year, through the influence of Washington, and upon the insistence of Christopher, that Nathaniel received a lieutenancy in his father's company of Scouts. Later, when Christopher became Indian agent, Nathaniel continued in the Virginia military forces. He was placed in command of about two hundred Indians with whom he accompanied General John Forbes on the 1758 campaign against Fort Duquesne. By this date he was a captain. On one expedition under Colonel Adam Stephen, young Gist journeyed as far west as the old trading post of Long Island on the Holston, near where Fort Robinson was built. As soon as hostilities ceased Gist made his home in the Cherokee country. Part of the time he was a private trader, the remainder a deputy Indian agent under British authority. Williams, "Fort Robinson-on-Holston," *East Tennessee Historical Society Publications*, IV, 22-23; The best account available for Nathaniel Gist during this period is a brief article by Samuel C. Williams, "The Father of Sequoyah: Nathaniel Gist," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XV (March, 1937), 3-20.

13. Robert Hunter Morris (c1700-1764) Chief Justice of New Jersey and Governor of Pennsylvania, was the son of Louis and Isabella Graham Morris. In 1754 he became Governor of Pennsylvania and resigned in 1756. His governor was anything but successful.

many years the Provincial Secretary of associated with Conrad Weiser in western land speculation. He is perhaps Pennsylvania's greatest "unheralded" expansionist for the colonial period.

15. Gist to Washington, October 15, 1755, Stanislaus Murray Hamilton (ed.), *Letters to Washington* . . . , 110-111.

16. Colonel Dunbar, following Braddock's defeat, had ordered a general retreat. Lacking specific instructions to the contrary, Dunbar had decided to leave the Virginia frontier and to move northward with his troops to join the Commander-in-Chief, General William Shirley. Governor Dinwiddie objected as did nearly every colonial to Dunbar's plan "to establish winter quarters" in the heat of the summer. Even Shirley ordered him to try another attack on Fort Duquesne but to no avail. Hence one can understand the view of a man like Gist when he says that he doesn't know where Dunbar plans to go from Albany but some hope 'tis heaven.

17. Gist to Washington, October 15, 1755, *Letters to Washington*, I, 110-111.

18. *Ibid.*, I, 111.

19. Washington to Gist, October 10, 1755, *Writings of Washington*, I, 199.

20. John Harris came to America from Yorkshire. He was licensed a trader in 1705 by the Pennsylvania government. He settled at Paxtang, later the site of Harris' Ferry, and now the site of Harrisburg. His settlement really began in 1725 when he was granted five hundred acres of land. About a decade later he received a second grant of three hundred acres. It was his son, John Harris, Jr., who founded Harrisburg. He was born at the Paxtang settlement c1726. He was granted the privilege of establishing a ferry across the Susquehanna in 1753 and from that date his place became known as Harris's Ferry.

21. Gist to Washington, November 1, 1755, *Letters to Washington*, I, 118.

22. Instruction to recruiting officers, September, 1755, *Writings of Washington*, I, 163-165.

23. Washington to Gist, ibid., I, 267.

24. Gist to Washington, November 25, 1755, *Letters to Washington*, I, 129-130.

25. Washington to Adam Stephen, May 18, 1756, *Writings of Washington*, I, 382.

26. Gist to Washington, July 30, 1756, *Letters to Washington*, I, 324.

27. Washington to Dinwiddie, August 4, 1756, *Writings of Washington*, I, 420.

28. Adam Stephen to Washington, December 3, 1755, *Letters to Washington*, I, 138-139.

29. Washington to Dinwiddie, December 5, 1755, *Writings of Washington*, I, 248.

30. Washington to John Robinson, August 5, 1756, ibid., I, 424.

31. *Statutes at Large*, VI, 112-118.

32. Ibid., VII, 26-33.

33. Dinwiddie to Washington, August 14, 1753, *Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 184-186.

34. Washington to Dinwiddie, May 18, 1756, *Writings of Washington*, I, 379.

35. Washington to Horatio Sharpe, July 20, 1757, ibid., II, 100.

36. Alexander Scott Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, (Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites), 81.

37. Horatio Sharpe to Robert Morris, April 24, 1756, *Correspondence of Horatio Sharpe*, VI, 391.

Christopher Gist

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Chronicles of Oklahoma XV Mar 1937

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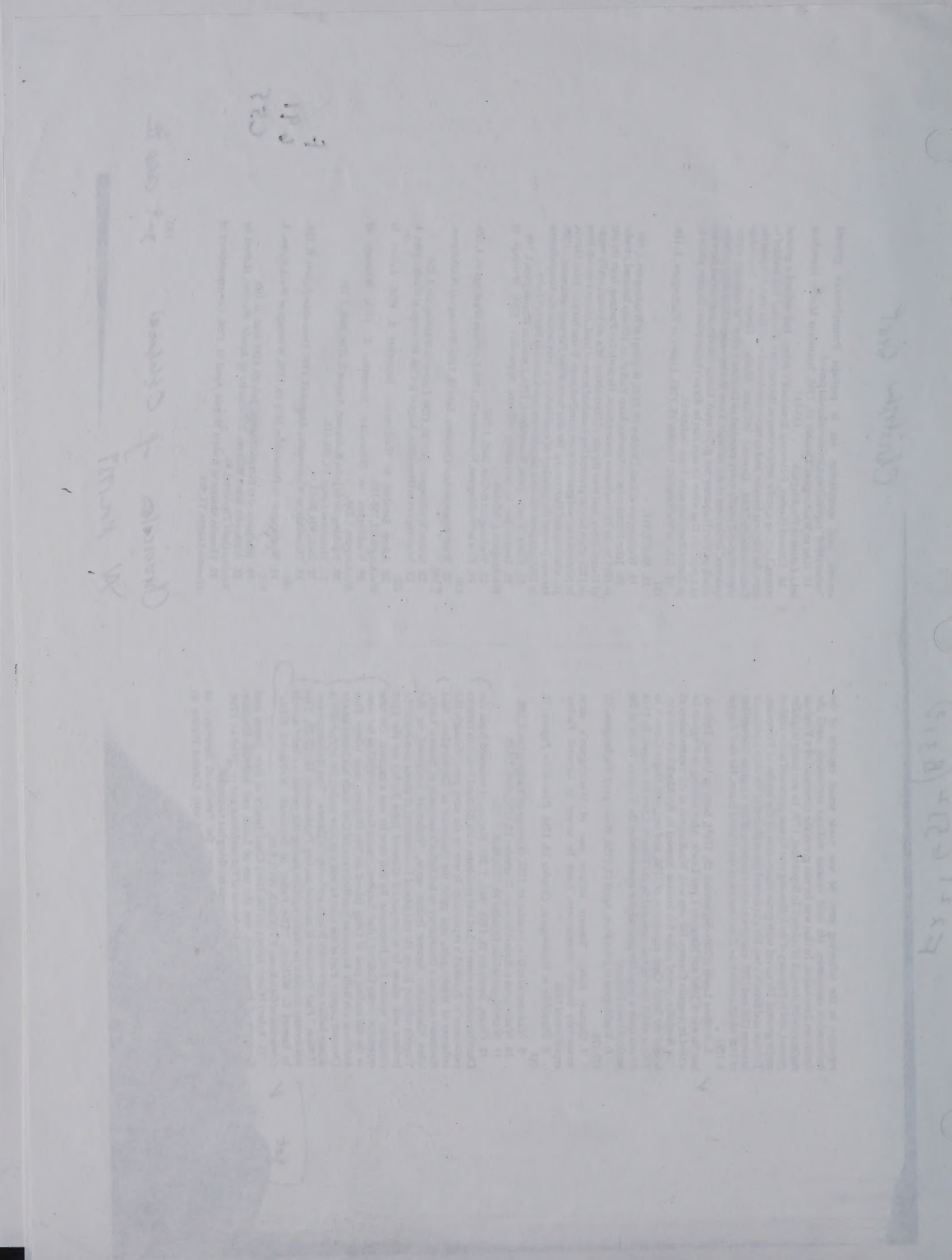


tioned off, but the law stated that "the purchasers right shall merely be occupancy, and transferrable only to lawful citizens of the Cherokee Nation." Judge Martin, George Sanders, and Walter S. Adair were selected as commissioners to superintend the laying off of the lots. The new capital was located on the south bank of the Coosawattee River, near the present city of Calhoun, Georgia, and was about two miles below the old capital of Ustanali.

On July 26, 1827, the Cherokee Nation, through a representative assembly of delegates, adopted a national constitution. Its first article defines the boundaries of the Nation as "embracing the lands solemnly guaranteed and reserved forever to the Cherokee Nation by the Treaties concluded with the United States." After providing for the various branches of government, etc., a number of important provisions were made, including separation of Church and State and trial by jury. The constitution further provided that: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government, the preservation of liberty and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged in this Nation."

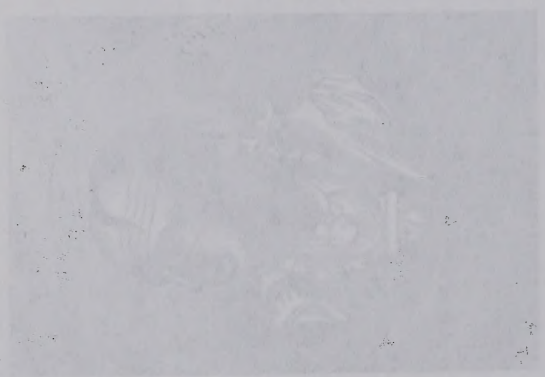
The names of the signers of this great Indian document are worthy of preservation in any account dealing with the history of the Cherokee. They are John Ross, President of the Convention, and the following others: John Baldridge, George Lowrey, John Brown, Edward Gunter, John Martin, Joseph Vann, Kelechulee, Lewis Ross, Thomas Foreman, Hair Conrad, James Daniel, John Duncan, Joseph Vann, Thomas Pettit, John Beamer, Ooclenota, William Boling, John Trimson, Situwakee, Richard Walker, and A. McCoy, Secretary to the Convention.[31]

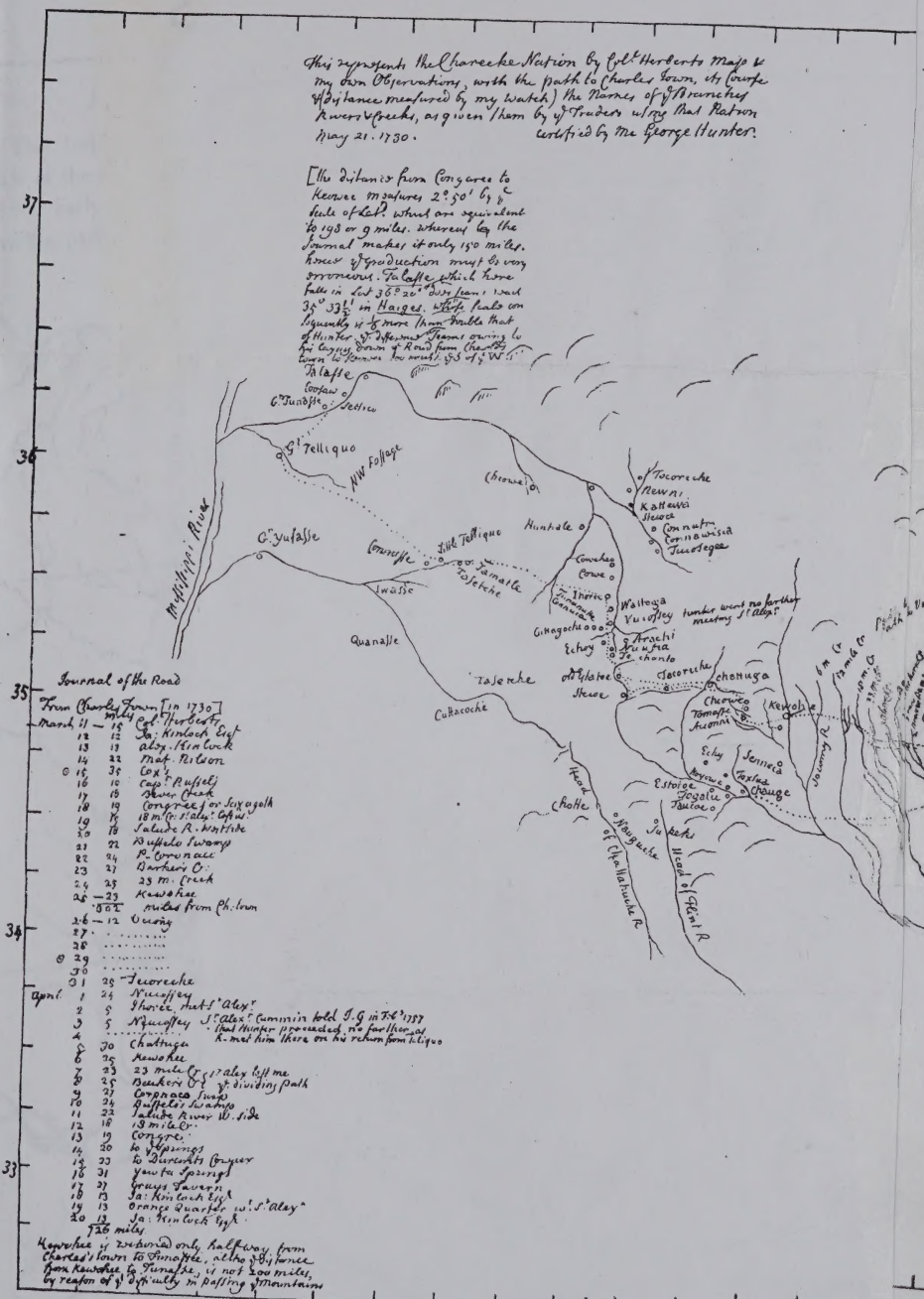
Simultaneous with the adoption of this constitution the Council voted plans for the establishment of a national press. That this was possible was due to the genius of Sequoyah, a pagan mixed-blood who astonished the world in 1821 by the invention of a most remarkable alphabet. By the use of his system, which was really a syllabary, expressing within its eighty-five characters all the primary sounds in the Cherokee language, an illiterate Indian could learn to read within a few hours. Following its adoption hundreds

31. Starr, pp. 55-63.

OUTACITE,
Chief of the CHEROKEES

From an engraving in Drake's BOOK OF THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA. *Head of the delegation which went to London with Lieutenant Timberlake, by whom he was always called Ostenaco. This picture and those of Sequoyah and John Ross (on the opposite side of this page) epitomize the transition in Cherokee culture over a period of approximately seventy-five years. During this period the Cherokee emerged from barbarianism to civilization*




This represents the Charecke Nation by Col: Herbert's Maps & my own Observations, with the path to Charles Town, its Course & Distance measured by my Watch) the Names of y Towns & Rivers & Creeks, as given them by y Traders who's Mad Patron certified by Mr George Hunter.
May 21. 1730.
[The distance from Congaree to Keowee measures 2°.50' by y Rule of Lat: which are equivalent to 198 or 9 miles. whereas by the Journal makes it only 150 miles. hence y Production must be very erroneous. Talasse which here falls in Lat 36°.20' but from Ward 35°.33'.! in Haiges. which I take to be much the nearest. & consequently is 40 more than Wards that of Hunter. y difference Thereof coming by his Course down y Road from Charles Town to Keowee two miles. & 3/4 of y W.
Journal of the Road
From Charles Town [in 1730]
Col: Herbert
Ja: Kinlock Esqr
alex: Kinlock
Mat: Nelson
Cox's
Capt Russell
Newe Creek
Congree or Saxagoth
18 m for Alex: Cuthw
Saluda R. Northside
Buffelo Swamp
R. Connaree
Broken C.
23 m. Creek
Keowhee
miles from Ch. Town
Ocony
Keowhee
Nucassey
Thorees Hutts Alex
Nucassey J. Cuthbert Cummin told J. G in Feb 1787 - that Hunter proceeded no further as K- met him there on his return from Tellico
Chattuga
Keowhee
23 miles to y Alex left me
Broken C. y dividing Path
Congaree Swamp
Buffelo Swamp
Saluda River W. side
18 mile C.
Congree
to y Springs
to Burkets Copper
Yow ta Springs
Grays Tavern
Ja: Kinlock Esqr
Orange Quarter w. Alex
Ja: Kinlock Esqr
726 miles
Keowhee is reckoned only halfway from Charles Town to Timothe, altho by Distance from Keowhee to Timothe, is not 200 miles, by reason of y difficulty in passing y Mountains
Talasse
Conasse
Tellico
St Telliquo
NW Follost
(Keowee)
Mississippi River
C. Yufasse
Courtesse
Little Telliquo
or Tamahle
Tasetche
Iwasse
Quanasse
Tasetche
Cullacoche
Huntsale
Coweches Cowe
Tarrire
Tomatly Cannuch
Watauga
Yuwassey
Cittagoche
Echory
Arachi
Tuwfia
Chonto
Estotee
Tocorache
Chatuga
Chowee
Tomatly
Kewohee
Echay
Jenneta
Estotee
Tocorache
Newni
Kattawa
Cowatee
Connatee
Connawissa
Tuscegee
Virginia
Jocassee R.
Keowee R.
Tomb C.
Broad R.
Broad Creek
Head of Creek
Tuskey C.
Head of Saluda R.
Head of Broad R.
Head of Catawba R.
Jukes
Head of Ogeni R.
Nauguse
Head of Chatuche R.
Charlestown
Ashley R.
Cooper R.
Santee R.
Wando R.
Charles Town
Savannah
A general Accot
Engh. rich Lands
for Englo
Jour
65 from Lond.
64
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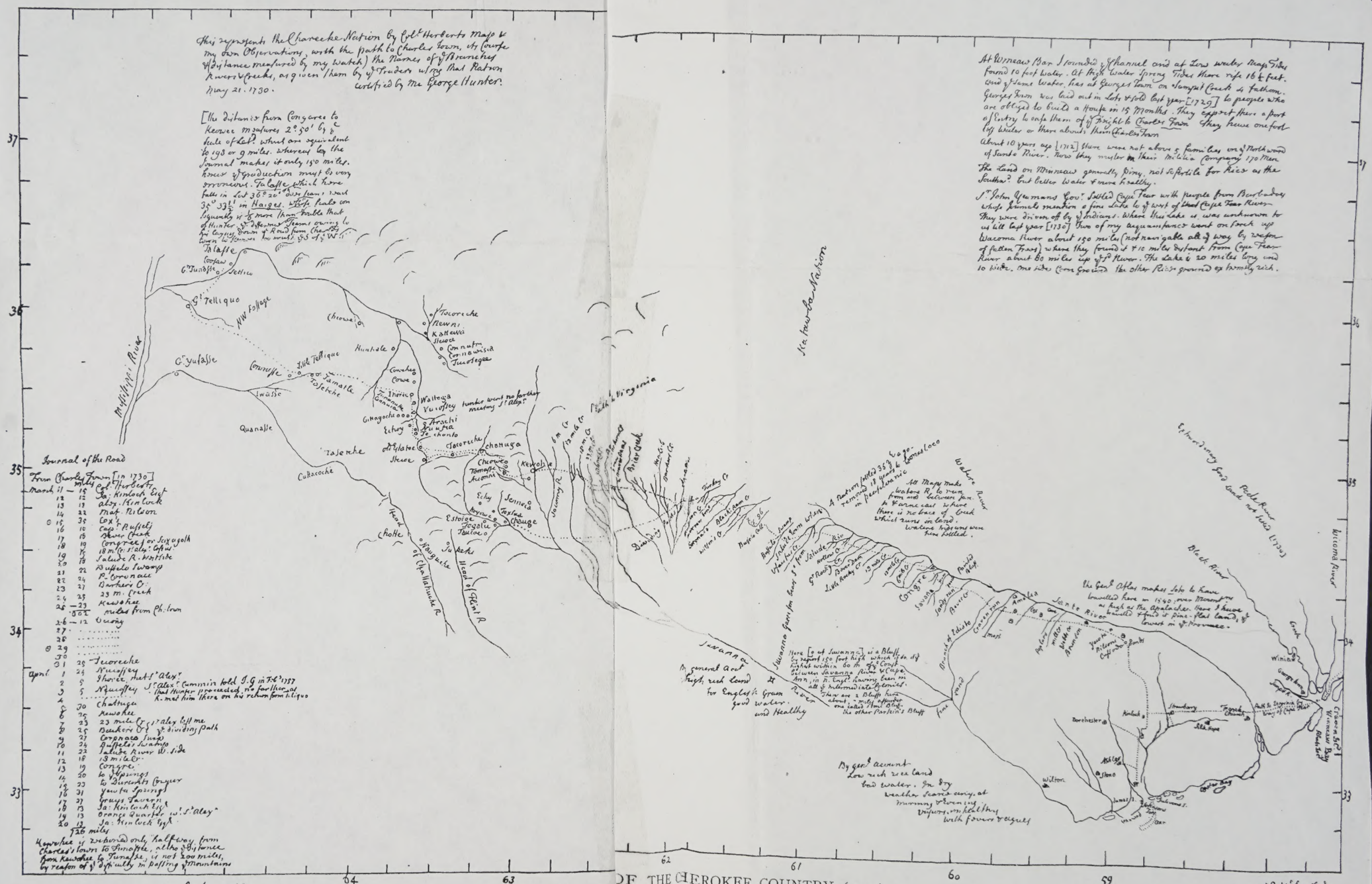
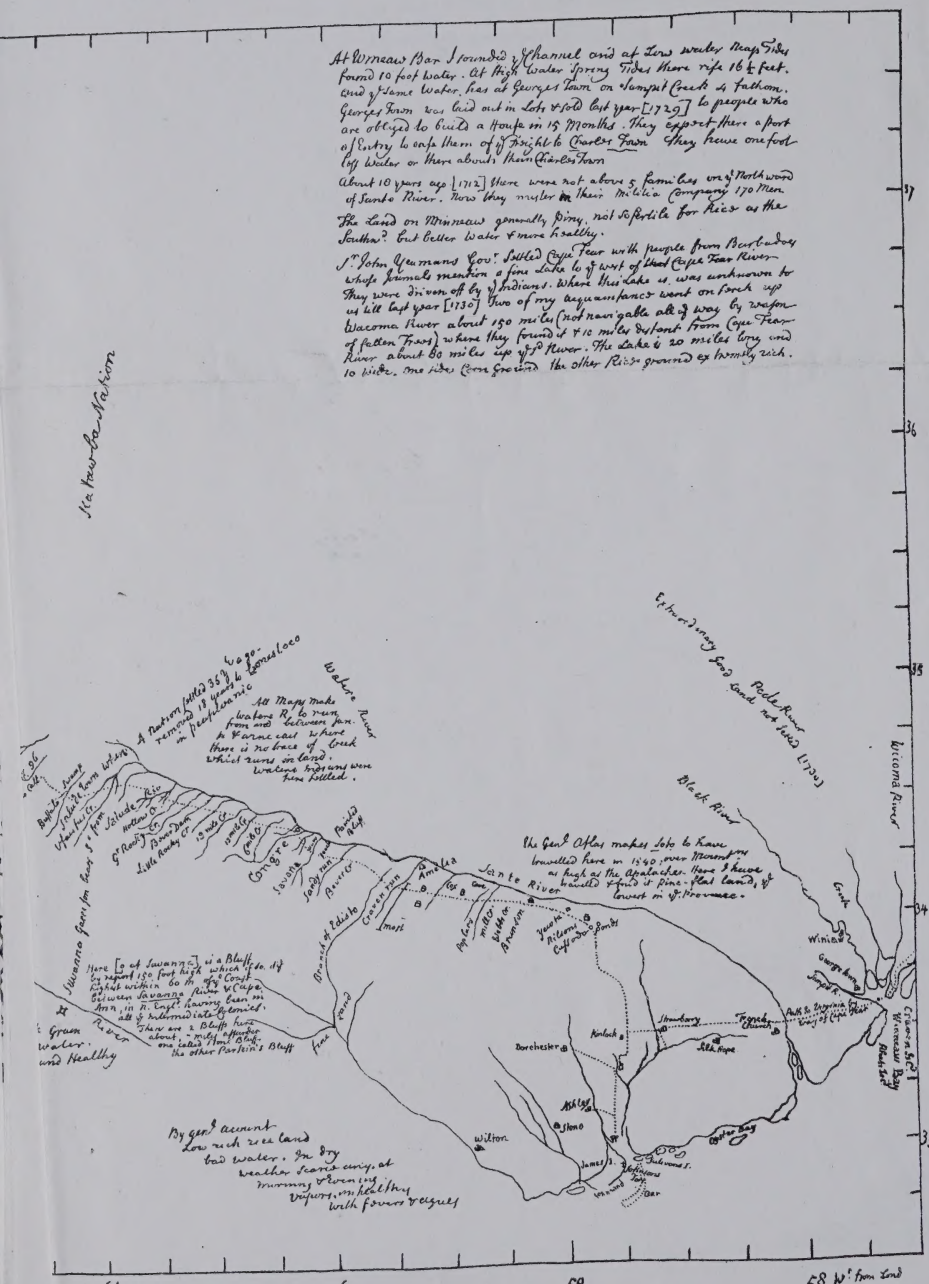
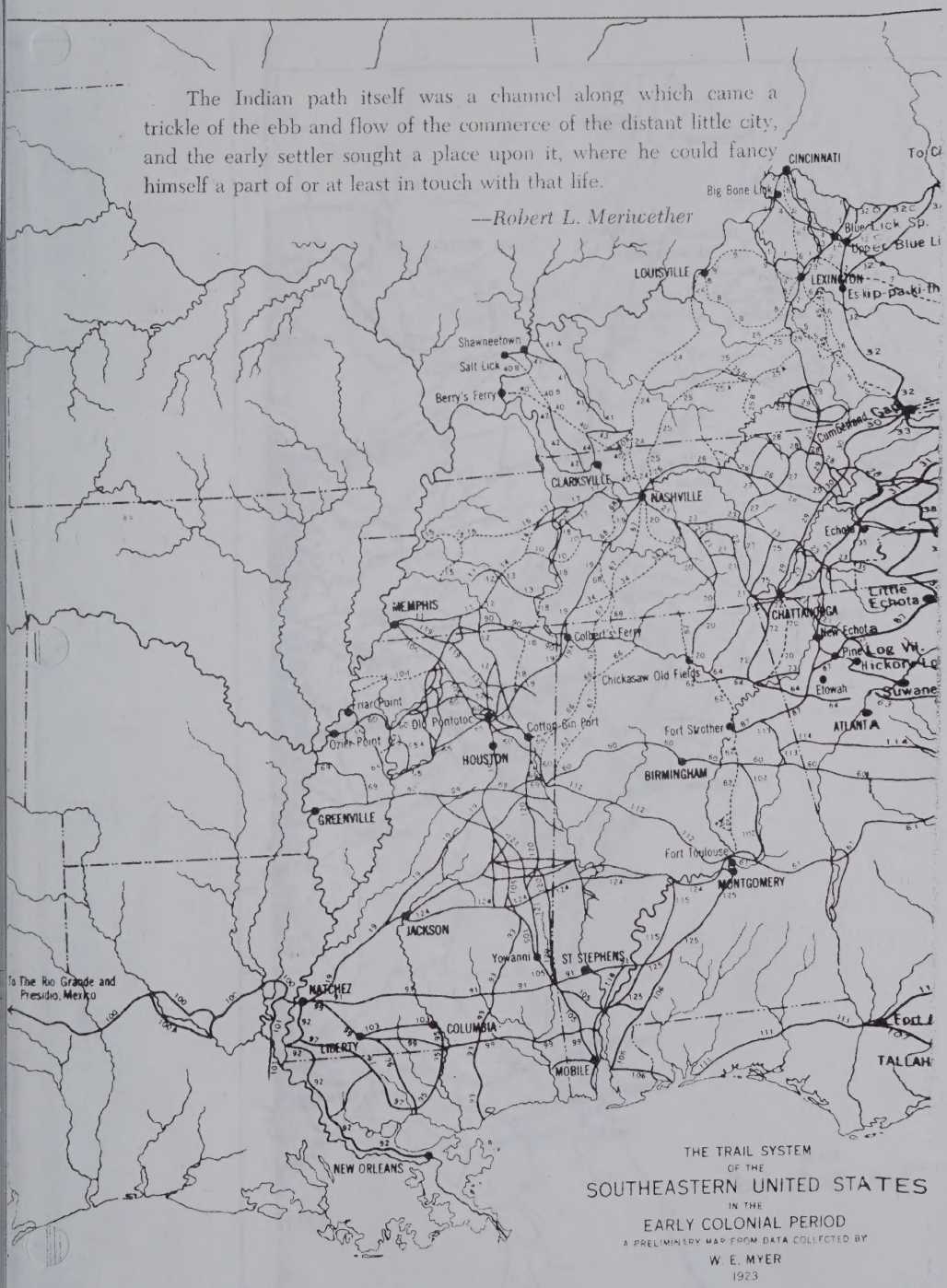
62
HUNTER'S MAP OF THE CHEROKEE


This represents the Charecke Nation by Colt Herbert's Maps & my own Observations, with the path to Charles Town, its Course & Distance measured by my Watch) the Names of ye Brooks & Rivers & Creeks, as given them by ye Traders who pass that Nation
Survey'd by Mr George Hunter.
May 21. 1730.
[The distance from Congaree to Keowee measures 2d 50' by ye Scale of Leagues which are equivalent to 198 or 9 miles. whereas by the Journal makes it only 150 miles. Hence ye Production must be very erroneous. Talasse which here falls in Lat 36d 20' doth learn, viz 35° 33 1/2' in Haiges. Which puts us consequently 2 d more than Table that of Hunter & Peters Travels coming to his Journey down ye Road from Charles Town to Keowee his mark 5d 45' W.
Journal of the Road
From Charles Town [in 1730]
March 11 — 15 Col. Herberts
12 12 Ja: Kinlocks Esq
13 13 alex. Kinlock
14 22 Mat. Nelson
15 35 Cox's
16 10 Capt Russells
17 18 Stony Creek
18 19 Congrees or Saxagoth
19 19 18 M[ile]s to S[outh] alex's Esq
20 19 Salude R. Wattree
21 22 Buffelo Swamps
22 24 R. Connaree
23 27 Barkers C.
24 25 23 M. Creek
25 — 29 Keowhee
.804 miles from Ch. Town
26 — 12 Quorey
27 .....
28 .....
29 .....
30 .....
31 29 Tuscorecke
April 1 24 Nucassey
2 5 Sherees. that S[outh] alex's Commiss hold I. G. in Feb 1737
3 5 Nucassey S[outh] alex's Commiss proceeded no further at that Time
4 ..... & met him there on his return from Chiquo
5 30 Chattuga
6 25 Keowhee
7 23 23 mile C. S[outh] alex's left me
8 25 Nauhore C. & dividing path
9 27 Coppaco Swamp
10 24 Buffelo Swamps
11 22 Salude River W. side
12 18 18 mile C.
13 19 Congree
14 20 to Hot Springs
15 22 to Burnetts Corner
16 31 Yewtee Springs
17 27 Grays Tavern
18 13 Ja: Kinlock Esq
19 13 Orange Quarter w[est] S[outh] alex's
20 12 Ja: Kinlock Esq
726 miles
Keowhee is reduced only halfway from Charles Town to Pinnotte, altho ye Distance from Keowhee to Pinnotte, is not 200 miles, by reason of ye difficulty in passing ye Mountains
Mississippi River
C. Tallasse
Coosaw
Tellico
NW Passage
C. Tallasse
Tellico
Chiowee
Hiwassee
Tuscorecke
Nowee
Kattawee
Conasauga
Connawissa
Tuscegee
Coosawatee
Tomatley
Tasetche
Quanasse
Cullacoche
Ellijay
Ginagoche
Etowee
Tomotley
Chatuga
Tuscorecke
Chehowa
Tomassee
Keowee
Estatoe
Jocassee
Jumpers
Head of Chattahoochie R.
Head of Chatt R.
Keowee
Seneca
Toxaway
Cheowee
Jocassee
Estatoe
Tugaloo
Tamassee
Ellijay
Etowee
Tomotley
Tuscorecke
Chatuga
Hiwassee
Coosawatee
Connasauga
Tomatley
Tasetche
Cullacoche
Quanasse

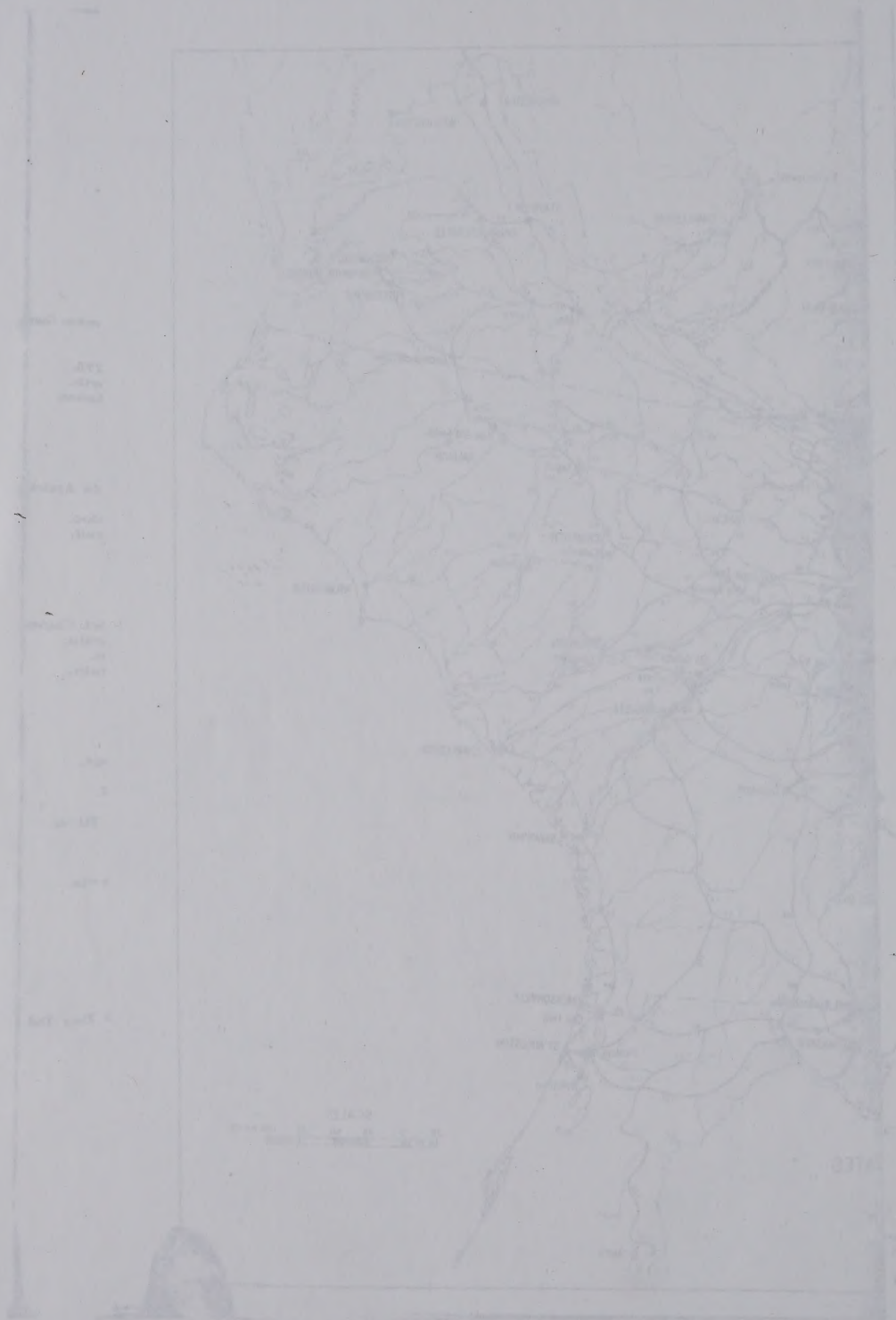

At Wineau Bar I rounded y^e Channel and at Low water Neap Tides found 10 foot Water. At high Water Spring Tides there rise 16 ½ feet. and y^e same Water lies at George's Town on Sampit Creek 4 fathom. George Town was laid out in Lots & sold last year [1729] to people who are obliged to build a House in 15 Months. They expect there a port of Entry to ease them of y^e Right to Charles Town they have one foot less Water or there about: than Charles Town
About 10 years ago [1712] there were not above 5 Families on y^e North wood of Santee River. Now they muster in their Militia Company 170 Men.
The Land on Winneau generally fine, not so fertile for Rice as the Southn? but better Water & more healthy.
M^r John Yeamans Gov^r. Settled Cape Fear with people from Barbadoes who's Journals mention a fine Lake to y^e west of that Cape Fear River they were driven off by y^e Indians. Where this Lake is was unknown to us till last year [1730] Two of my acquaintance went on Foot up Waccama River about 190 miles (not navigable all y^e way by reason of fallen Trees) where they found it 10 miles distant from Cape Fear River about 80 miles up y^e River. The Lake is 20 miles long and 10 wide. One side Cane Ground the other Rice ground extraordinary rich.
St. Helena Station
Edisto River
Black River
Santee River
Winneau
George Town
Charles Town
Dorchester
Stoney
Wilton
James I.
Johnsons
Edisto Island
Pon Pon
Ashley River
Cooper River
Goose Creek
Round O
Sandy Run
Amelia
Orangeburg
Congree
Saxe Gotha
Purrysburg
Savannah River
Ebenezer
Augusta
Abercorn
Yamacraw
Tomochichi's Town
Tybee
Skidaway
Ogeechee River
Sapelo
St. Catherines
Sunbury
Frederica
St. Simons
Jekyll
Cumberland
Fort St. Andrew
Fort St. Augustine
Cape Florida
Cape Hatteras
Cape Fear
Pedee River
Waccamaw River
Winyaw Bay
Georgetown
Port Royal
Beaufort
Broad River
Savannah River
Tybee Bay
Frederica River
St. Simons Bay
Jekyll Sound
Cumberland Island

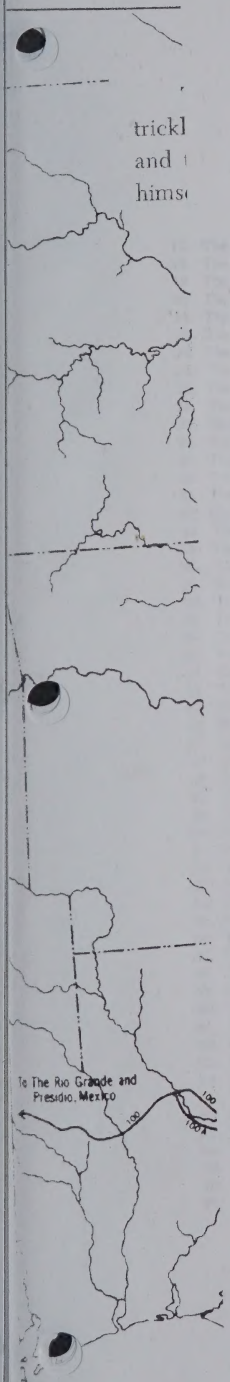
The Indian path itself was a channel along which came a trickle of the ebb and flow of the commerce of the distant little city, and the early settler sought a place upon it, where he could fancy himself a part of or at least in touch with that life.

—Robert L. Meriwether



THE TRAIL SYSTEM
OF THE
SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES
IN THE
EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD
A PRELIMINARY MAP FROM DATA COLLECTED BY
W. E. MYER
1923





INDIAN TRAILS OF THE SOUTHEAST

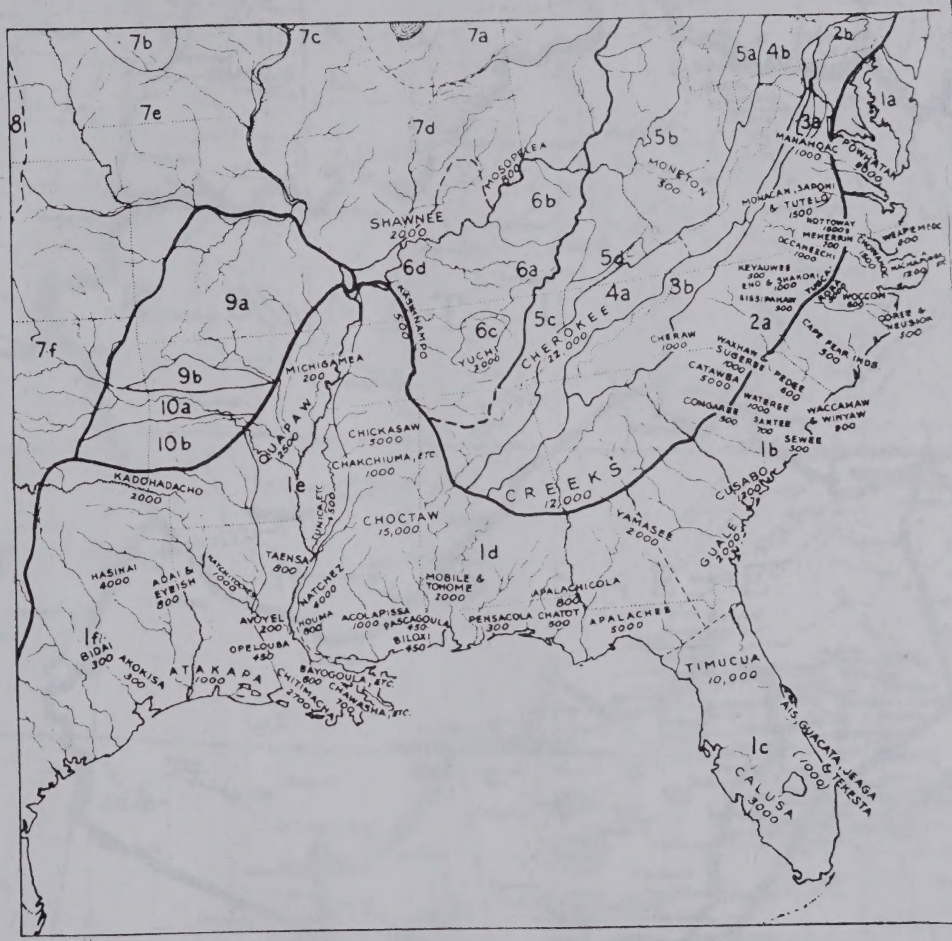
By WILLIAM E. MYER

LIST OF TRAILS

By JOHN R. SWANTON

1. Alanaut-o-wamiowee (Buffalo Path).
2. The Big Bone Lick and Little Miami Trail.
3. The Licking Route.
4. The Big Bone-Blue Lick Trail.
5. The Wilderness Road.
6. Old Road from Fort Washington to Tennessee.
7. Old Kentucky State Road.
8. Pioneer Road from Harrodsburg to the Falls of the Ohio.
9. Pioneer Road from Lexington to the Falls of the Ohio.
10. Trail between Duck River and Beech River, Tennessee.
11. The Bolivar and Memphis Trail.
12. The West Tennessee Chickasaw Trail.
13. The Cisco and Savannah Trail.
14. The Cisco and Middle Tennessee Trail.
15. The Brownsville, Fort Ridge and Hale's Point Trail.
16. The Mississippi and Tennessee River Trail.

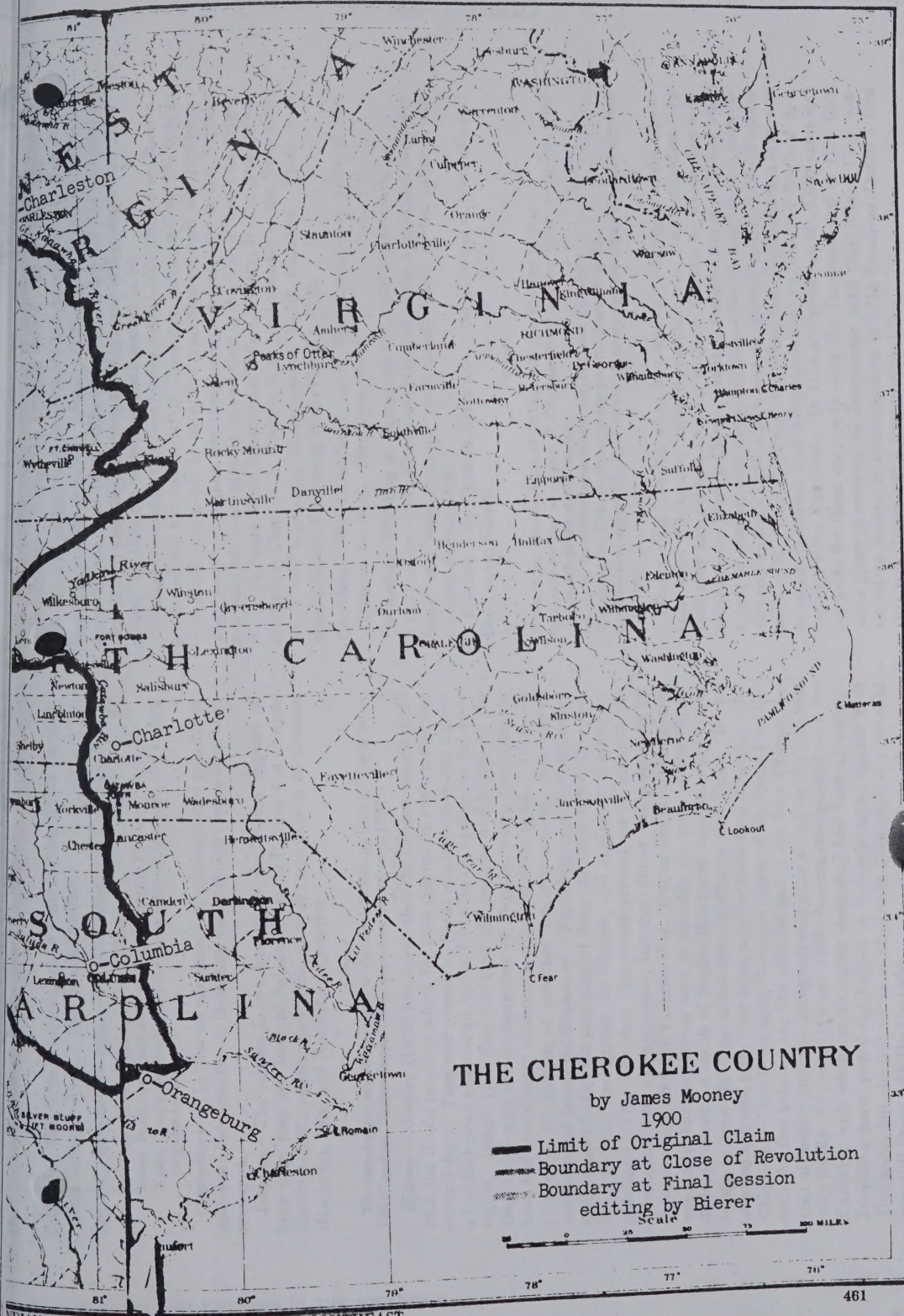
17. The Lower Harpeth and West Tennessee Trail.
18. The Duck River and Northeast Mississippi Trail.
19. The Natchez Trace or the Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace.
20. The Great South Trail.
21. The Cisca and St. Augustine Trail.
22. The Nickajack Trail.
23. The Black Fox Trail.
24. The Cumberland and Ohio Falls Trail.
25. The Cumberland and Great Lakes Trail.
26. The Cumberland Trace.
27. The Chickamauga Path.
28. The East and West Trail.
29. The Tennessee River, Ohio, and Great Lakes Trail.
30. The Clinch River and Cumberland Gap Trail.
31. The Great Indian Warpath.
32, 32A, 32B, 32C. The Warriors' Path in Kentucky.
33. The Catawba Trail.
34. The Old Waterloo Road.
35. The Unicoi Turnpike.
36. The Chesapeake Branch of the Great Indian Warpath.
37. The Old Cherokee Path to Virginia.
38. The Tuckaleechee and Southeastern Trail.
39. Rutherford's War Trace.
40. The Nashville-Saline River Trail.
41. The Russellville-Shawneetown Trail.
42. The Palmyra-Princeton Trail.
43. The Russellville-Hopkinsville Trail.
44. The Clarksville-Hopkinsville Trail.
45. Boone's Trail from the Yadkin River to Boonesborough.
46. The Saura-Saponi Trail.
47. Trail from Bermuda Hundred to Amelia.
48. The trail between Pamunkey and New Rivers.
49. Pioneer Road from Petersburg to Tar River.
50. Pioneer Road between Virginia and Roanoke River.
51. Pioneer Road between Virginia and Albemarle Sound.
52. The New River and Southern Trail.
53. The Catawba and Northern Trail.
54. The Big Sandy Trail.
55, 55A. The Guyandot Trail.
56. The Coal River Trail.
57. The Paint Creek Trail.
58. The New River and Cumberland Gap Trail.
59, 59A, 59B. Trail along the North Fork of Tug River.
60. The Lower Creek Trading Path.
61. The Augusta, Macon, Montgomery, and Mobile Trail.
62. Route of Gen. Jackson's army when invading the Creek country.
63. Hightower Path.
64. The Old Road from the Tennessee River to Georgia.
65. The Chakchiuma Trails.
66. Gaines's Trace (according to Royce).
67. General Jackson's Old Military Road.
68. Route of General Jackson's expedition against the Indians in 1787.
69. Route from Tombigbee River to the mouth of the Arkansas.
70. Route followed by General Cox's Army (Melish map, 1814).
71. Long Island and Trenton (Lookout Mountain Town) Trail.
72. The Chattanooga-Willstown Road.
73. The Old Creek Path.
74. The Old Path from Fort Charlotte to the Cherokee Country.
75. The Sequatchie Trail.
76. The Old Cherokee Trading Path.
77. The Lower Cherokee Traders' Path prior to 1775.
78. The Old South Carolina State Road to the North.
79. The trail from Fort Moore (Augusta) to Charleston.
80. The Occaneechi Path.
81. The trail from Charleston to Fort Charlotte.
82. The trail from Augusta to Savannah.
83. The trail from Charleston to Savannah.
84. The trail from Savannah to Jacksonville.
85. The trail from St. Augustine and Jacksonville to Apalachee.
86. The trail from Tugaloo to Apalachee Bay.
87. The Old Indian Path between Coosa and Tugaloo.
88. The Wilmington, High Point, and Northern Trail.
89. The Occonee Path.
90. The Cherokee Trace.
91. The trail from Natchez to the Lower Creeks.
92. The trail from Natchez to New Orleans.
93. The trail from Bay St. Louis to the Choctaw.
94. The trail from Augusta to the Cherokee via Fort Charlotte.
95. Trail between Pearl River and Lake Pontchartrain.
96. Trail between Natchez and Lake Pontchartrain.
97. Trail between the Tunica and Lake Pontchartrain.
98. Trail East from Baton Rouge.
99. The trail from Mobile to Natchez.
100. The Natchez and Texas Trail.
101. Trail between Natchez and the Atchafalaya.
102. The Tallapoosa Trail.
103. Trail between Columbia and Liberty, Mississippi.
104. The Chickasaw-Tunica Old Fields Trail.
105. The Memphis, Pontotoc, and Mobile Bay Trail.
106. Trail from the Upper Creeks to Pensacola.
107. Trail from St. Augustine to the mouth of Flint River.
108. Trail from Palatka to Jacksonville.
109. Trail from Picolata to Jacksonville.
110. Trail from Augusta to St. Augustine.
111. Old Trading Path from the Savannah to Pensacola.
112. The Alabama-Chickasaw Trail.
113. The Okfuskee Trail.
114. The Middle Creek Trading Path.
115. The trail from Selma to Mobile.
116. Trail from Winyah Bay to the Cherawa.
117. Trail from Charleston to Winyah Bay.
118. Trail from Mobile to the Lower Creeks.
119. The Middle Memphis-Pontotoc Trail.
120. The Cotton Gin Port, St. Stephens, and Mobile Bay Trail.
121. The Choctaw and Mobile Bay Middle Route.
122. Trail from Alachua to Tampa Bay.
123. The Southern St. Augustine-Apalachee Trail.
124. The Alabama, Choctaw, and Natchez Trail.
125. The Alabama and Mobile Trail.

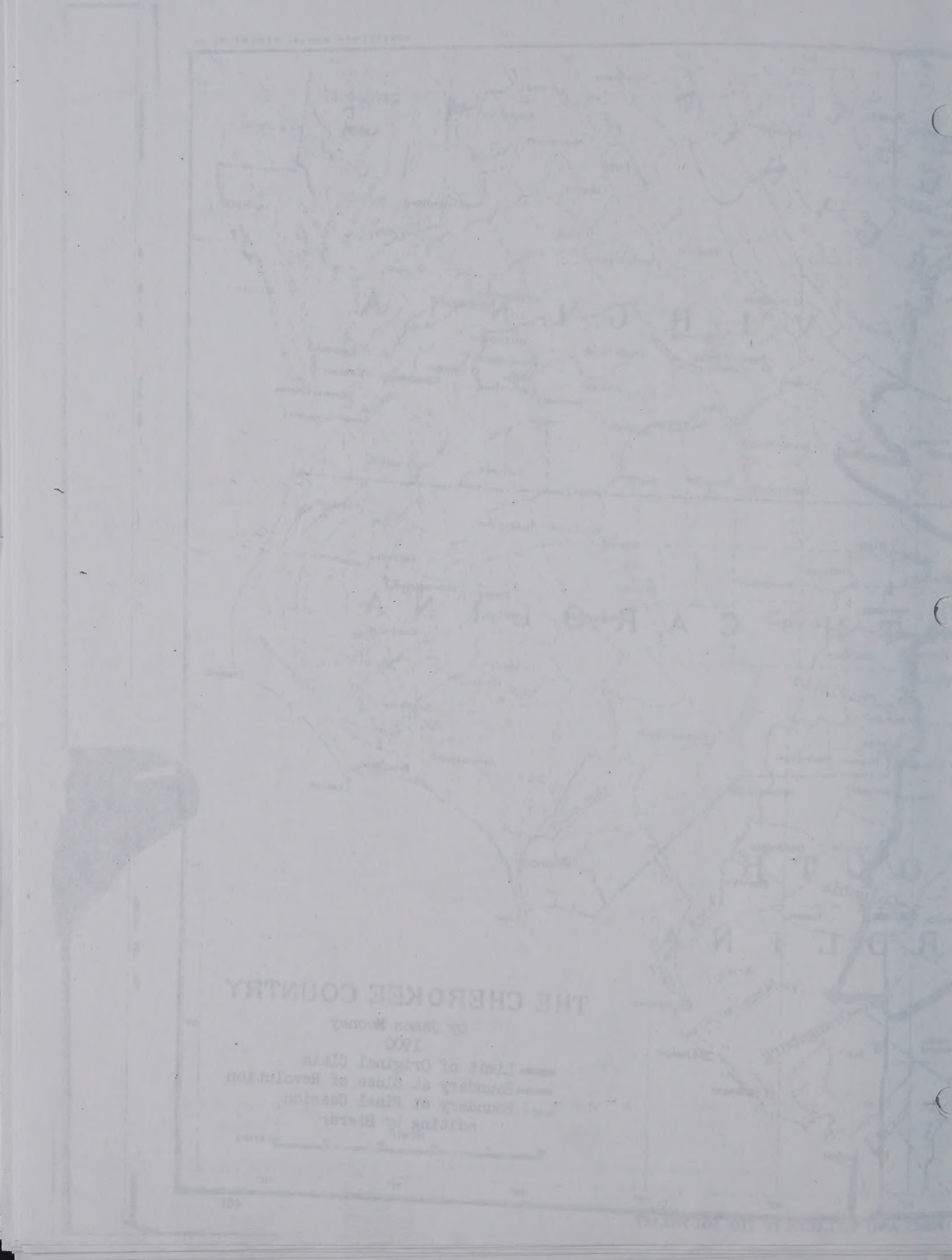


EARLY INDIAN POPULATIONS IN THE SOUTHEAST

From "The Indians of the Southeastern United States" by John R. Swanton. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 137.

ILL.
IND.
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
GEORGIA
ALABAMA
Cincinnati
Louisville
Nashville
Birmingham
Atlanta


WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
Staunton
Charlottesville
Orange
Warrenton
Culpeper
Lurby
Winchester
Leesburg
Fredericktown
Sperryville
Harrisonburg
Lexington
Buchanan
Amherst
Lynchburg
Farmville
Salem
Rocky Mount
Wytheville
Martinsville
Danville
Halifax
Henderson
Oxford
Durham
Greensboro
Wilkesboro
Yadkin River
Salisbury
Newton
Lincolnton
Charlotte
Shelby
Yorkville
Monroe
Wadesboro
Chester
Lancaster
Camden
Darlington
Columbia
Sumter
Florence
Orangeburg
Georgetown
Charleston
Wilmington
Fayetteville
Jacksonville
Beaufort
Lookout
Cape Fear R.
Pee Dee R.
Yadkin R.
Catawba R.
Broad R.
Saluda R.
Black R.
Santee R.
Edenton
Elizabeth
Suffolk
Emporia
Petersburg
Richmond
Chesterfield
Dr. Goode
Williamsburg
Yorktown
Hampton
Charles
Henry
Lewisville
Warsaw
Fredericksburg
Culpeper
Alexandria
Washington
Frederick
Hagerstown
Shenandoah
Winchester
Leesburg
Fredericktown
Sperryville
Harrisonburg
Staunton
Charlottesville
Orange
Warrenton
Culpeper
Lurby



Catawba. This tribe occupied parts of southwestern North Carolina near Catawba River. (See South Carolina.)

Cheraw. Significance unknown. Also called:

Ani'-Suwa'lI, Cherokee name.
Saraw, Suali, synonyms even more common than Cheraw.
Xuala, Xualla, Spanish and Portuguese forms of the word, the *x* being intended for *sh*.

Connections.—The Cheraw are classed on circumstantial grounds in the Siouan linguistic family though no words of their tongue have been preserved.

Location.—The earliest known location of the Cheraw appears to have been near the head of Saluda River in Pickens and Oconee Counties, S. C., whence they removed at an early date to the present Henderson, Polk, and Rutherford Counties.

Villages

The names given are always those of the tribe, though we have a "Lower Saura Town" and an "Upper Saura Town" on a map dating from 1760.

History.—Mooney (1928) has shown that the Cheraw are identical with the Xuala province which De Soto entered in 1540, remaining about 4 days. They were visited by Pardo at a later date, and almost a hundred years afterward Lederer (1912) heard of them in the same region. Before 1700 they left their old country and moved to the Dan River near the southern line of Virginia, where they seem to have had two distinct settlements about 30 miles apart. About the year 1710, on account of constant Iroquois attacks, they moved southeast and joined the Keyauwee. The colonists of North Carolina, being dissatisfied at the proximity of these and other tribes, Governor Eden declared war against the Cheraw, and applied to Virginia for assistance. This Governor Spotswood refused, as he believed the Carolinians were the aggressors, but the contest was prosecuted by the latter until after the Yamasee War. During this period complaint was made that the Cheraw were responsible for most of the depredations committed north of Santee River and they were accused of trying to draw the coast tribes into an alliance with them. It was asserted also that arms were being supplied them from Virginia. The Cheraw were then living upon the upper course of the Great Pee Dee, near the line between the two colonies and in the later Cheraw district of South Carolina. Being still subject to attack by the Iroquois, they finally—between 1726 and 1739—became incorporated with the Catawba, with whom at an earlier date they had been at enmity. In 1759 a party joined the English in their expedition against Fort Duquesne, but the last notice of them is in 1768 when the remnant was still living with the Catawba.

Population.—During the Spanish period the Cheraw appear to have been of considerable importance but no estimate of their numbers has come down to us. Mooney (1928) gives 1,200 as a probable figure for the year 1600. The census of 1715 gives 140 men and a total of 510, probably including the Keyauwee and perhaps some other tribes. In 1768 the survivors numbered 50 to 60.

Connection in which they have become noted.—The Cheraw are famous as one of the few tribes in the Carolinas mentioned by De Soto's chroniclers which can be identified and located with fair precision. They were noted later for their persistent hostility to the English and have left their name in Suwali Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains, N. C.; in Saura Town Mountains, Stokes County, N. C.; in the town of Cheraw, Chesterfield County, S. C.; and possibly in the Uwaharrie River and Uwaharrie Mountains of North Carolina. There is a locality named Cheraw in Otero County, Colo.

Cherokee. The Cherokee lived in the mountainous parts of the State in the west. (See Tennessee.)

Chowanoc. Meaning in Algonquian "(people) at the south."

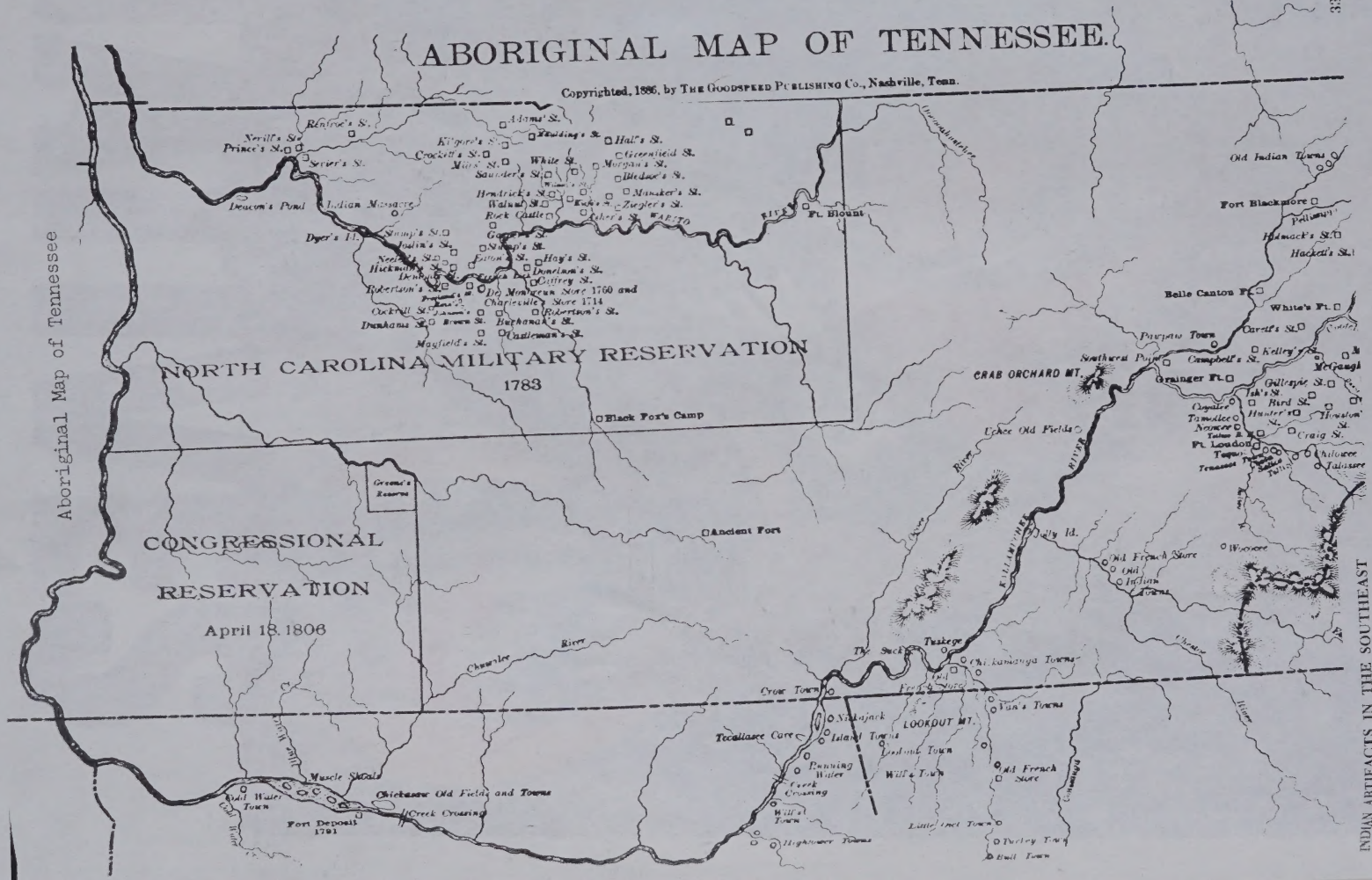
Connections.—The Chowanoc belonged to the Algonquian linguistic family and were evidently most nearly allied to the other North Carolina Algonquians.

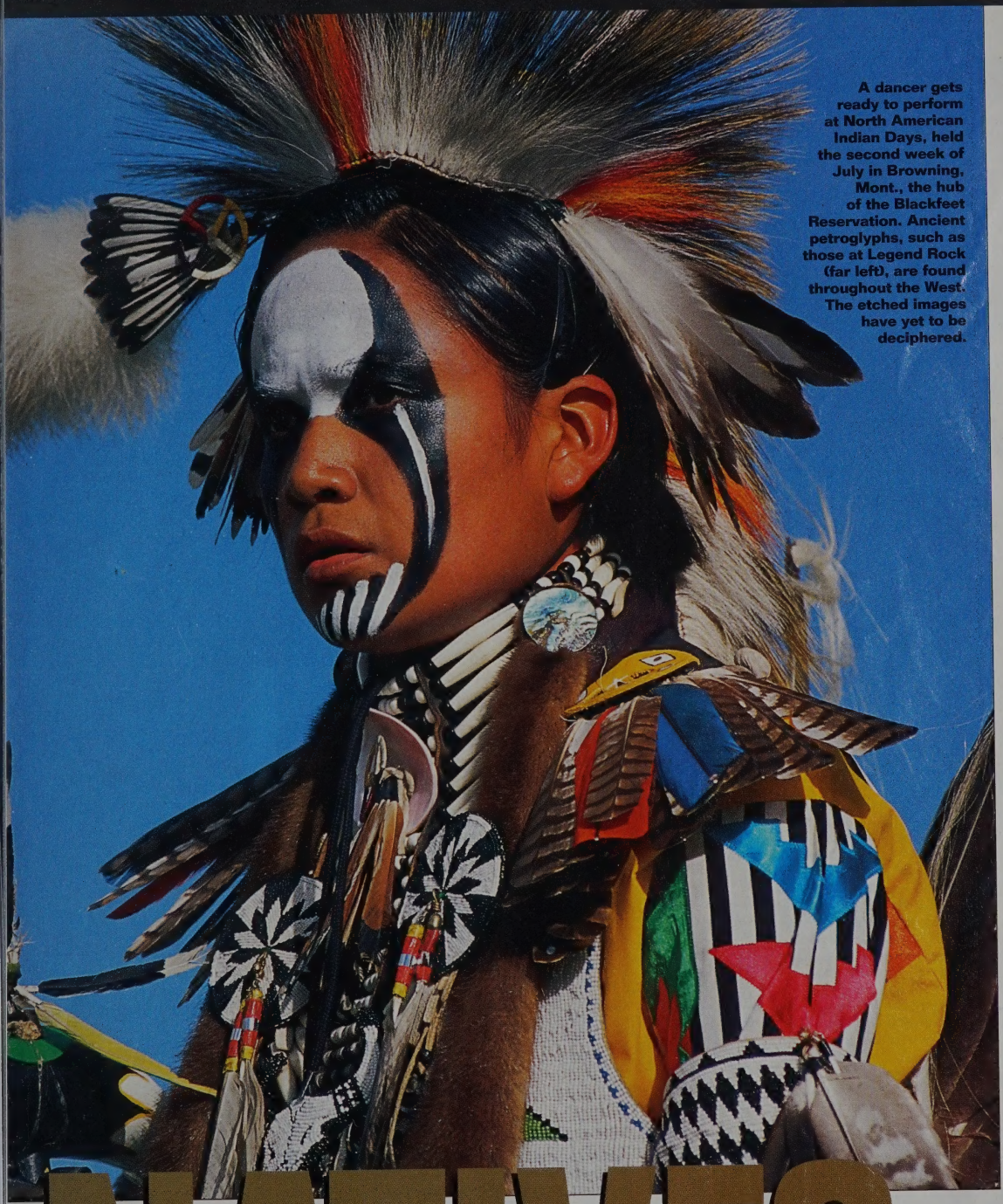
Location.—On Chowan River about the junction of Meherrin and Blackwater Rivers.

Villages

Maraton, on the east bank of Chowan River in Chowan County.
Ohanoak, on the west side of Chowan River not far below Nottoway River probably in Hertford County.
Catoking, (probably) near Gatesville, in Gates County.
Metocaum, on Chowan River in the present Bertie County.
Ramushonok, apparently between the Meherrin and Nottoway Rivers in Hertford County.

History.—In 1584–85, when first known to Europeans, the Chowanoc were the leading tribe in northeastern North Carolina. In 1663 they entered into a treaty with the English by which they submitted to the English Crown, but they violated this in 1675 and after a year of warfare were compelled to confine themselves to a reservation on Bennett's Creek which became reduced by 1707 from 12 square miles to 6. They sided with the colonists in the Tuscarora War, and at about the same time were visited by a Church of England missionary, Giles Rainsford. In 1723 a reservation of 53,000 acres was set aside for them conjointly with the Tuscarora and in 1733 they were given permission to incorporate with that tribe. They continued to decline in numbers until in 1755 Governor Dobbs stated that only 2 men and 3 women were left.


ABORIGINAL MAP OF TENNESSEE.
Copyrighted, 1886, by THE GOODSPEED PUBLISHING CO., Nashville, Tenn.
NORTH CAROLINA MILITARY RESERVATION
1783
CONGRESSIONAL
RESERVATION
April 18, 1806
Grave's Reserve
Black Fox's Camp
Ancient Fort
Ft. Blount
Fort Blackmore
Belle Canton Ft.
White's Ft.
CRAB ORCHARD MT.
Grainger Ft.
Ft. London
Old Indian Towns
Old French Store
Tuckaseege
Chickamauga Towns
Crow Town
LOOKOUT MT.
Island Towns
Muscle Shoals
Chickasaw Old Fields and Towns
Creek Crossing
Fort Deposit
1791
Deacon's Pond
Indian Massacre
Dyer's Ft.
Upper Old Fields
Tellico River
Chatata
Hiwassee
Talassee
Aboriginal Map of Tennessee
INDIAN ARTIFACTS IN THE SOUTHEAST

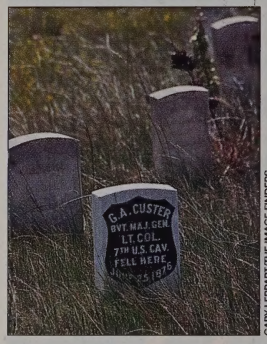


A dancer gets ready to perform at North American Indian Days, held the second week of July in Browning, Mont., the hub of the Blackfeet Reservation. Ancient petroglyphs, such as those at Legend Rock (far left), are found throughout the West. The etched images have yet to be deciphered.

JOHN ELK III

NATIVES

JOHN ELK III



GARY LEPPART/THE IMAGE FINDERS

Tribal history comes alive at Indian City U.S.A. (top) via village replicas and dancing demonstrations. A stone (above) marks the spot where Gen. Custer fell on June 25, 1876; his remains were reburied at West Point in 1877. Instead of wheeled conveyances, American Indians used travois (below). Dogs dragged the carriers until the horse arrived in North America. This reconstructed earthlodge (right) is in the Knife River Indian Villages Site, the area where Sacagawea met Lewis and Clark in 1805.

JOHN ELK III

Heritage Center in Pierre, the Heritage Center and the Wounded Knee site in Pine Ridge and the Sitting Bull Monument near Mobridge.

What is now known as Kansas once belonged to the People of the Southwind, the Kansa Indians. By 1846, thousands of American Indians had been forced to settle in Kansas. When the push of western expansion came, 30 different tribes were relocated to Oklahoma. Four nations, the Iowa, Sac and Fox, Kickapoo and Potawatomie, refused to leave and remain in the state today.

Kansas offers up a wealth of attractions dedicated to the American Indian. They include the Pawnee Indian Village near Republic, the Native American Heritage Museum at Highland, the Mid-America All-Indian Center at Wichita and the American Indian Art Center in Abilene.

INDIAN TERRITORY

Once known as Indian Territory, Oklahoma is still home to more American Indian tribes than any other state; as many as 39 tribal headquarters and members of at least 67 tribes call the state home. Consequently, dozens of attractions throughout the state honor these cultures through exhibits, dramatic presentations and artistry.

Among the notable are the Cherokee Heritage Center in Tahlequah, which contains the Cherokee National Museum, the Tsa-La-Gi Ancient Village, and the official archives and library of the Cherokee Nation; Indian City U.S.A. at Anadarko, an assemblage containing a museum and replicas of Indian villages; and the Spiro Mounds Archaeological Park, considered among the most important prehistoric sites east of the Rocky Mountains.

Much is now known about the red stone quarried from the earth around Pipestone, Minn. It is thought that digging began in the 17th century and the stone came to be the preferred material for making pipes by many of the Plains Indians. The pipes marked much of their ceremonial rituals and activities.

Today, visitors learn about the stone's ties to the past through exhibits at Pipestone National Monument and demonstrations of pipe making by native craftsworkers. Come July, the Song of Hiawatha Pageant unfolds on the stage of a large outdoor amphitheater adjacent to the monument.

In the Twin Cities, organized day tours take in several local American Indian sites, including ancient burial grounds and those featuring native crafts. For details, contact *www.nativetours.com* or (800) 489-6583.

MOUNDS OF THE MIDWEST

Indians known today as the Effigy Mound Builders lived in what is now Wisconsin and bordering states between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1000. The mounds were shaped like mammals, reptiles and birds. It is thought that thousands of mounds existed before the cultivation of the land by early settlers destroyed them. The few that still remain offer visitors a glimpse of these nomadic peoples' lifestyles.

At Lizard Mound County Park near West Bend, a self-guided nature trail winds its way around more than 20 mounds. Trail markers provide information about this extinct culture. Near Sheboygan, Indian Mound Park exhibits 18 mounds in animal and geometric forms.

Other Wisconsin locations worth noting include the Chippewa Valley Museum at Eau Claire, the George W. Brown Jr. Ojibwe Museum and Cultural Center at Lac du Flambeau and Henschel's Museum of Indian History at Elkhart Lake.

Mounds also are found throughout Ohio; perhaps the most famous is Serpent Mound in Peebles, the largest mound in the United States. Well-preserved sites can be found in Bainbridge, Miamisburg, Locust Grove, Marietta and Newark and at the Hopewell Culture National Historical Park at Chillicothe.

JOHN ELK III

More can be learned about the Hopewell Indians at the Ohio Historical Society's Fort Ancient State Memorial near Oregonia. In Dayton, the SunWatch Indian Village is a reconstruction of an 800-year-old settlement by the Fort Ancient Indians. Here, visitors can learn about the system the Indians used for charting time based on the sun's position.

The Shawnee United Remnant Band owns and operates a complex composed of caverns, a park and the Woodland Native American Museum near Urbana. The museum houses exhibits on the early peoples of Ohio as well as the Shawnee culture.

For additional information on American Indian sites located in Iowa, Nebraska and Illinois, see the bonus coverage at *www.homeandawaymagazine.com.* ■

JILL CARSTENS-FAUST is senior/photo editor of Home & Away.